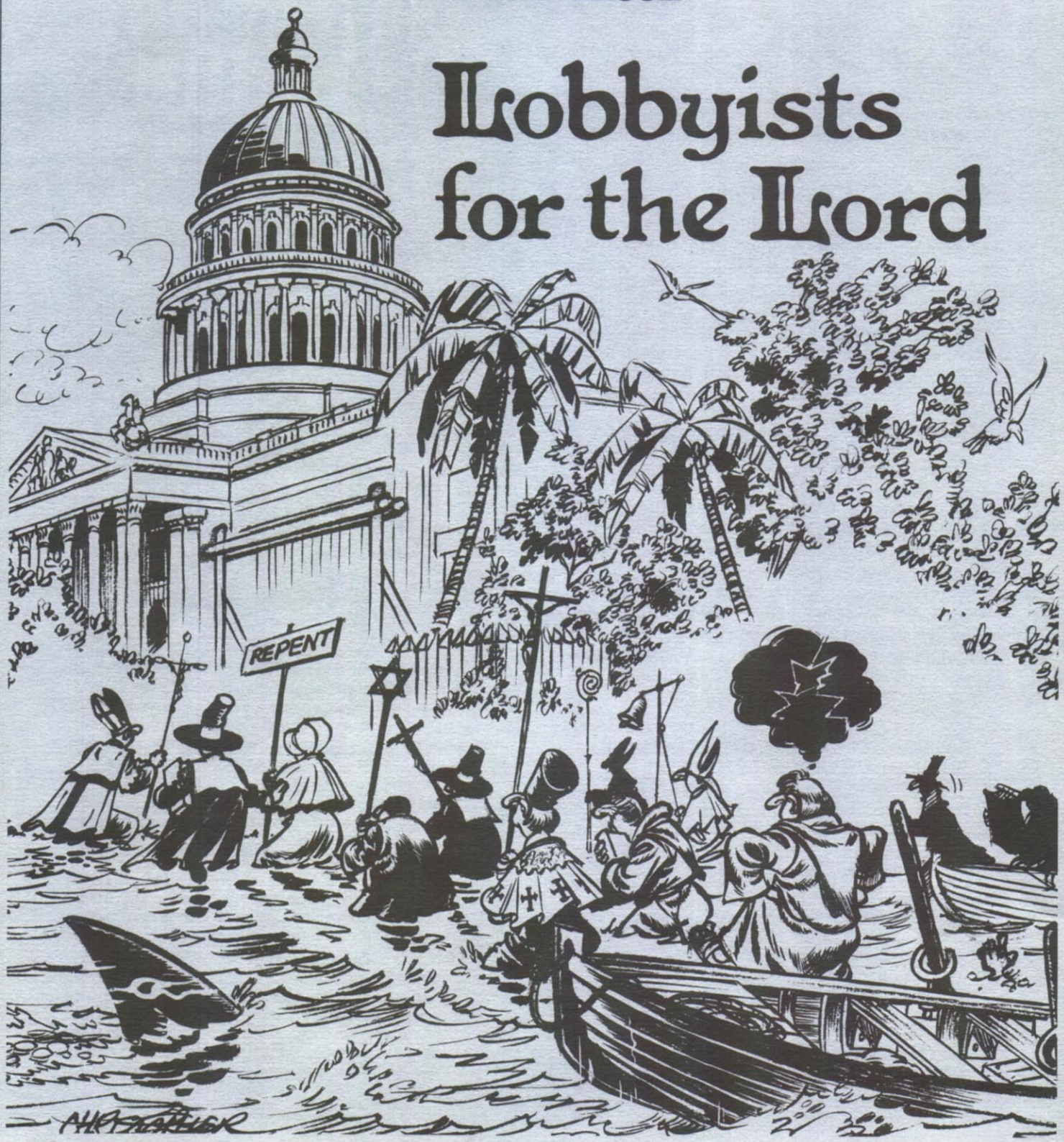
THE MONTHLY ANALYSIS OF STATE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS JULY 1985 $2.50

CALIFORNIA Journal

Lobbyists for the Lord



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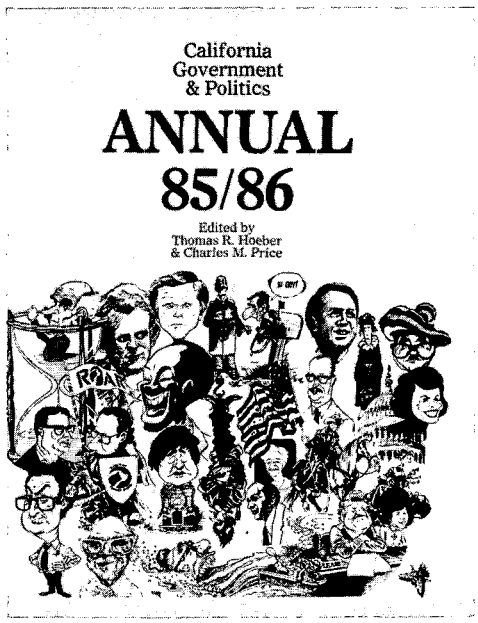

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THE MONTHLY ANALYSIS OF STATE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS
CALIFORNIA Journal

VOLUME XVI, NUMBER 7 JULY 1985

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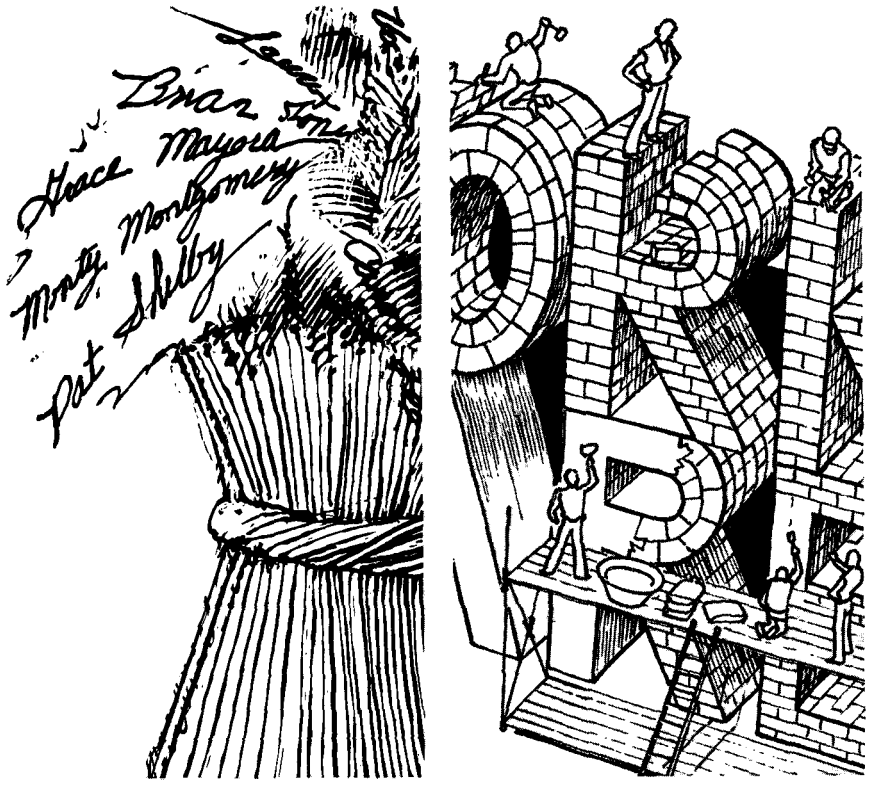

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UP FRONT

Notes and Items from Contributors and the Journal Staff.

Assembly Republicans replied to Assembly Democrats last month by sponsoring their own South African black leader to address the Legislature on the issue of divestment. Democrats, who want the state to divest itself of holdings in firms that do business with South Africa, had brought in the recent Nobel Prize winner, Bishop Desmond Tutu, to argue that U.S. investments help support South Africa's racist regime. The Republican-sponsored reply came from Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, chairman of South Africa's largest black political organization. He told the lawmakers that he also opposes his nation's racist policies but that U.S. firms doing business there offer jobs and economic hope to blacks. Although Republicans didn't like Tutu's message, they at least listened. Democrats, on the other hand, stayed away in great numbers when Buthelezi spoke — especially Democratic senators. Their absence may have resulted in part from a tiff between Senate President pro Tem Dave Roberti and Assembly Speaker Willie Brown. Roberti says he was not consulted before a joint legislative session was called to hear Buthelezi. Thus he declined to acknowledge it as something special and, like most Senate Democrats, did not attend. Others may have failed to go because of a press release issued by Assemblywoman Maxine Waters even before Buthelezi spoke, dismissing him as a government puppet. But in his speech, Buthelezi condemned apartheid, in some ways even more harshly than had Tutu. In any case, Democrats snubbed not only Buthelezi but also the notion that a free exchange of ideas brings about a reasoned course of action.

— A. G. Block

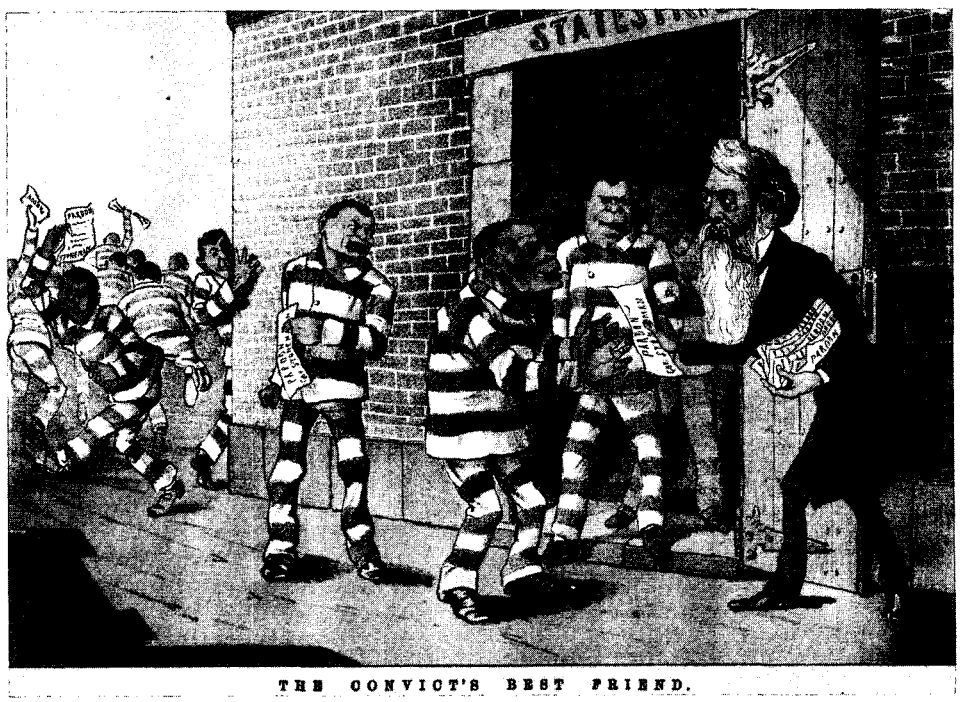
The Sacramento phone number for information about the state's new lottery is advertised as (916) 323-PLAY. Dialing locally on the State of California's departmental Centrex system, the number is 3-PLAY. One anonymous wag almost wangled the more titillating 4-PLAY. Unfortunately — or fortunately — that number belongs to CalTrans, which lists it simply as 4-7529.

Did the printer goof on Board of Equalization Chairman Ernie Dronenburg's new business card? It *looked* like the Board's embossed seal, but the tiny letters gracefully arced across the top read "Office of the Controller." It is no secret that Ernie hopes to succeed Controller Ken Cory someday. Is this a new form of subliminal campaigning? Is Ken ready to retire, or will he run for a fourth term in 1986? Will Ernie challenge Ken? Will the printer reprint the erroneous cards?

Sacramento Magazine has chosen the area's 34 "best and brightest future leaders" and, lo, there's a contingent from the Capitol. There's Mel Assagai, chief assistant to Senate President pro Tem David Roberti; Caren Daniels-Meade, media director for Secretary of State March Fong Eu; and Richie Ross, president of Ross Communications and chief political lieutenant to Assembly Speaker Willie Brown.

FPPC Chairman Dan Stanford has dropped his ballyhooed plan to impose a code of ethics on political campaign consultants but is going ahead with other ideas. With an assist from powerful Democratic Senator Al Alquist, who is carrying the necessary bill (SB1043), Stanford proposes that consultants be registered with the state and disclose their financial agreements with candidates. The disclosure provision could show who really makes money on some initiative campaigns. Also, the bill would require that candidates approve all mailers and advertising, meaning that they couldn't duck responsibility for any lies or smears. Peter Szego, the Senate staffer who keeps track of such things, says he's heard some rumblings of opposition in the Assembly but nothing that would necessarily be fatal to the Alquist bill.

Last month in this space we praised the Legislature in general and Senate leader Dave Roberti in particular for a new parliamentary rule aimed at preventing legislative sharpies from slipping special-interest bills through both houses during the hectic rush at the end of each legis-



Chief Justice Rose Bird is hardly the first California official to be accused of excessive leniency toward criminals (as indicated by Mervin Field's California Poll for May 7, 1985). Back in 1884 Democratic Governor George Stoneman was also under fire, as the above cartoon shows. It appeared in the *Wasp*, a political journal published at that time in San Francisco.

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lative session. But we have been informed by the Assembly Clerk's office that GOP Assemblyman Bill Leonard of Redlands deserves more credit than anyone for the new rule. It seems he had been pushing the proposal for several years before its adoption at the start of this session. We still like Dave Roberti, but in this case . . .

When it comes to providing constituent services, Republican Congressman Ed Zschau may be going further than most. Because Zschau voted against President Reagan's request for $14 million in aid to the Nicaraguan contras, the Republican Central Committee of Santa Clara County, which is in Zschau's district, passed a resolution asking the House GOP leadership to remove Zschau from the Foreign Affairs Committee. In a note to the leadership May 23rd, Zschau delivered a copy of the resolution.

Senate Secretary Darryl White believes that Democratic Senator Bill Lockyer is the first non-lawyer chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee. But that may change. Lockyer is an evening student at the University of Pacific, McGeorge School of Law in Sacramento. Having taken a year off to campaign in 1982, he is scheduled to graduate next year.

(Tim Staffel, Sacramento)

An article in our May issue concerning candidates for the GOP Senate nomination next year mentioned former Congressman John Rousselot and mistakenly said that he had sought the GOP Senate nomination in 1982.

To Elizabeth Knerr and the many other readers who complained about the first two pages of last month's article on prison construction because the grayish splashes on each page made them so difficult to read, our apologies. The splashes should not have been so dark.

Is the predominant Republican opposition to state Chief Justice Rose Bird beginning to create fears of a voter backlash? Republican state Chairman Mike Antonovich, the former state assemblyman and current Los Angeles County supervisor, has been one of Bird's sharpest critics for years, but when reporters in Los Angeles recently asked him to discuss the Bird issue and GOP election chances next year, Antonovich tried to convince the writers that Republicans have nothing to do with the anti-Bird campaign. Speaking, he said, not as party chairman but "as a county supervisor, a law enforcement officer (reserve police officer for South Pasadena) for 18 years, I will be voting against Rose Bird." Furthermore, Antonovich added, he intends to join every anti-Bird organization he can — but he wants it known he will be doing so as a "private citizen," not as party chairman.

(Richard Bergholz, Los Angeles)

They had an ugly-building contest in San Jose recently, and the winner was the downtown state office building named for Senator Al Alquist. Alquist, who's been around so long that very little

surprises him anymore, was bemused by this one. "The bulk of my constituents still think it's a wonderfully beautiful building," he declares with a straight face. The contest was conducted by *San Jose Mercury-News* reporter Steve Lopez. Alquist notes that Lopez has since been moved to another Knight-Ridder paper in Philadelphia. Colleagues say that Lopez wanted to go and it was a big promotion.

It was amusing to read that Portuguese-American Tony Coehlo was admitted to the Hispanic Caucus. His staff claimed that the Romans referred to Spain and Portugal as Hispania. In fact, when the Romans wanted to be precise, they referred to Portugal as Lusitania — making Tony a Lusitaniac, not an Hispanic. Given the current state of the Democratic Party, his reluctance to be associated with Lusitania is understandable, since that was also the name of the famous ocean liner which managed to get itself torpedoed, thereby accidentally bringing America into World War I.

(Lawrence M. Lunardini, Sacramento)

Larry Berg, director of USC's Institute of Politics and Government, was amused by our item in this section last month about Senator Pete Wilson's tale of involvement with the wedding plans of a Marine sergeant who really didn't want to get married. Berg says he's heard the story several times since 1984 from several members of Congress. Does this sergeant, he wonders, really exist?

Jerry Seedborg, chief of staff to state Senator Gary Hart, lived in Sacramento until about a year ago when his wife, Beverly, decided to give up her secretarial job and become an auto mechanic. To be nearer her auto-mechanic school, the couple moved to Vallejo, 55 miles west of the Capitol. With 110 miles worth of commuting, he puts enough wear-and-tear on his car every day to give her something to do in her spare time.

Frank Fat's restaurant has been a fixture near the Capitol for so long that not even the labor unions want to change things. Although other non-union, Capitol-area restaurants have been picketed from time to time, Fat's has escaped. When the *Sacramento Union* recently asked Ted T. Hansen, president of Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders Union, Local 49, why this was so, he replied that Fat's is an "institution." He said the union tends to picket newer restaurants near the Capitol to keep them from becoming institutions, too.

Come across a blurb lately that's nosy, newsy or smart-alecky about California government, politics or politicians? Share it with the Journal. *We pay up to $25 for entertaining tidbits published in "Up Front," so rush your items to Up Front, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento 95814. Sorry, submissions cannot be returned.*

The art of government consists in taking as much money as possible from one class of citizens to give it to the other.
— Voltaire

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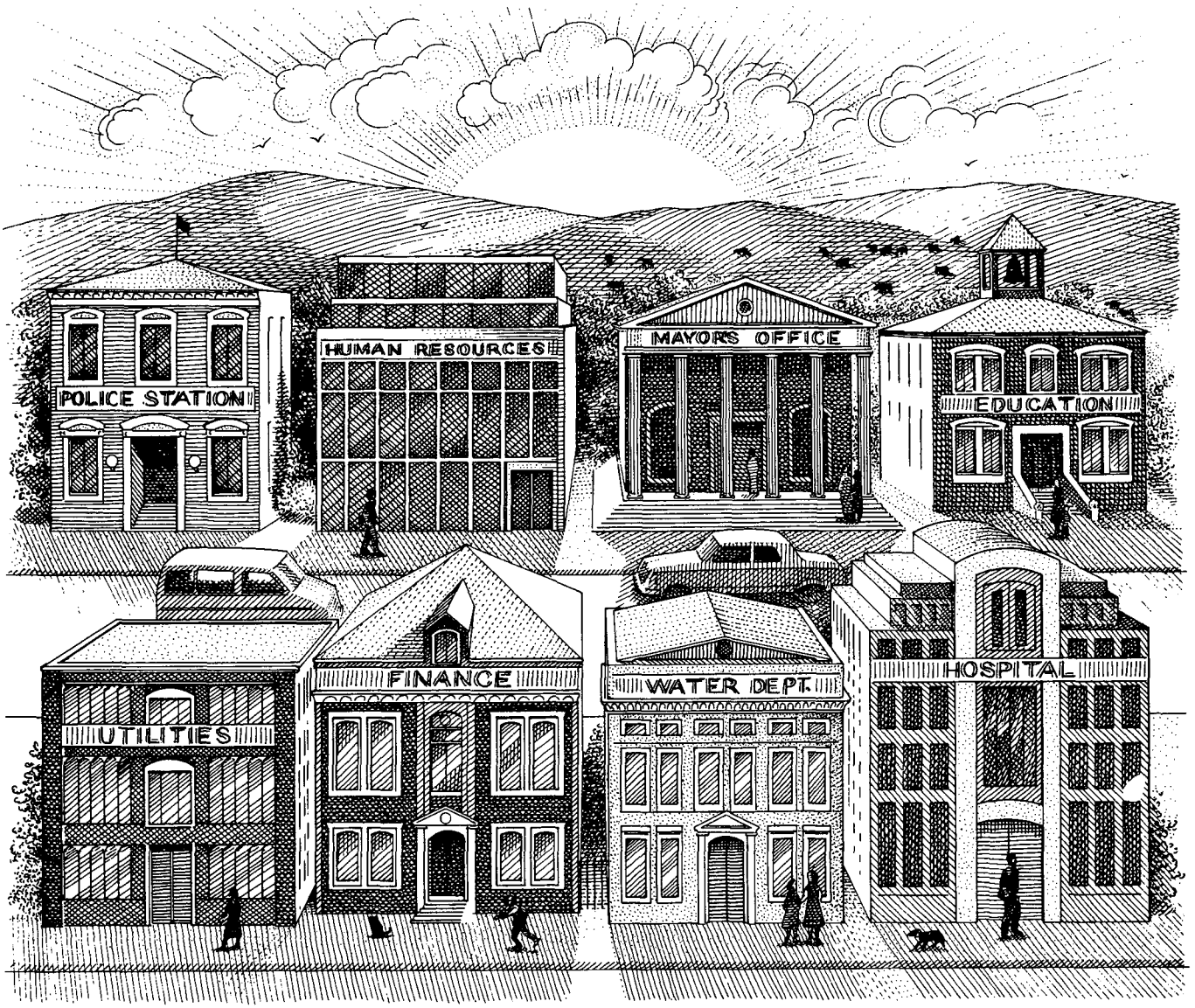

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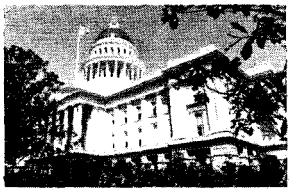

Capitol review

This is the time of year for thoughts of Proposition 13, the June phenomenon of seven years ago that turned state and local government finance on its ear. But it's had another effect as well. In the words of author John Naisbitt, in his book last year on "Megatrends," Proposition 13's most important consequence was not its fiscal effect but "the voter's discovery of the awesome power of the initiative."

Local government officials, who lost about half their property-tax income because of Proposition 13, might argue with that conclusion. But there's a lot of truth in it. Although a trend toward increased use of the initiative began earlier in the 1970s, Proposition 13 certainly enhanced public interest in the process. During the four years after its passage in 1978, the attorney general gave titles to 124 proposed ballot measures. That was two more than the number titled during the previous eight years. If the rate continues through the 1980s, this decade will see more initiative activity than any in California history. As scholar David B. Magleby told a conference on election reform at UC Davis recently, "Direct legislation now occupies center stage in California politics." And, as he also indicated, Proposition 13 helped put it there.

To Magleby and others at the conference, all this was a matter of some concern. Voters, they said, were changing the law of the land according to the limited information provided by barrages of radio and/or television commercials. Despite everything else that might be said of the state Legislature, it is still a place wherein laws are usually made and unmade in the presence — at least — of full information.

Thus the conference produced ideas for a number of reforms, including proposals that initiatives be routed through the Legislature before moving to the ballot. That way, the Legislature could either enact the proposal or pass it to voters to decide. In the process, however, a lot more information would get out. There were also calls for more public disclosure of fiscal relationships between initiative sponsors and the political management firms that profit from an initiative campaign.

Whether any of these will become law in the near future is hard to say. As Magleby also reminded his listeners, there is a sacredness about the initiative process that makes it difficult to change. Also, political conservatives — who have made good use of the initiative over recent years — will view with suspicion attempts at reform. In all, it seems unlikely that the process will be restricted in any significant way. Thanks in part to Proposition 13, the initiative has become a dominant feature in state politics and there is nothing in sight to reduce its role.

Some might contend that the Legislature could change the political landscape by becoming more bold and innovative in its approach to major state issues. Indeed, some have said that it was the Legislature's own inaction during the 1970s on the issue of property-tax reform that allowed Proposition 13 to become law in the first place. If only the Legislature had acted back then, Howard Jarvis and Paul Gann might this very day be occupying rocking chairs at some senior citizens' home.

Perhaps. But even if legislative action a decade ago could have prevented this new surge of direct democracy, it's too late for a change. No matter how bold or innovative the Legislature may become, it lives now in the shadow of the works of Jarvis and Gann.

A case in point is the simplified, flat-tax plan being proposed in the Assembly by Democratic liberal Elihu Harris and Republican conservative Dennis Brown. Like "flat tax" plans at the federal level, also backed by liberals and conservatives alike, the Harris-Brown plan is far more radical in concept than the income-tax reform being pushed by President Reagan today.

Generally speaking, the Harris-Brown plan would grant large standard deductions (thus erasing the tax on low incomes), tax all else at two flat rates (four or 7.5 percent) and abolish scores of preferential treatments and deductions (capital gains, for instance, would be taxed as ordinary income). Its supporters estimate that the Harris-Brown legislation would allow 97 percent of California income-tax payers to abandon the complicated forms and itemized statements in favor of a short-simple form.

In other words, this is just the sort of bold and innovative proposal whose mere debate in the Legislature would seem to establish that place as the forum for big decisions in this state. What's more, the proposal itself is a good example of how the representative system of government should work. The product of drum-beating at the local level by a San Francisco public-interest attorney named Bob Gnaizda (who worked briefly a decade ago for former Governor Jerry Brown), it was picked up by Assemblyman Harris in 1983 and has been reworked and refined since then. Assemblyman Dennis Brown became a supporter as Republicans made the simplified tax plan an element of their "Agenda of Opportunity" last March.

Obviously, there is opposition. Reasonable men contend that there are fundamental flaws in the plan. And their arguments may be enough to defeat it, just as a forerunner bill by Harris was defeated last year.

But there is another thought as well. Expressed privately by a legislative veteran, it never would have occurred to anyone at the Capitol prior to the passage of Proposition 13. What will Howard Jarvis do if the Legislature enacts something as far-reaching and consequential as the Harris-Brown bill? Would he use some facet of this many-faceted package — like the partial reduction in child care and renter credit benefits — to launch a new tax crusade of his own? Would he mail millions of letters around the state declaring "Hey, look what those popcorn balls in Sacramento have done to you this time?" In short, would he make legislators look bad, even weaken them at the next election, for having supported something big and bold?

Jarvis, bless him, may have no such thoughts in mind. But he and the other initiative makers are the political tigers these days, and its up to others to beware and look out.

Robert Fairbanks

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Lobbyists for the Lord

By BOB SYLVA

Picture the state Capitol as an island paradise. Wading ashore are the religion lobbyists, armed with missionary zeal and a sense of reproach. Alas, in the clash between mammon and morality, the brazen natives are prevailing.

There are some 700 registered lobbyists in California, making lobbying a minor growth industry. The leading contract-lobbying houses employ large staffs, have tasteful offices equipped with high-tech appliances (to better track the 6500 bills introduced each year), and are frequently headed by lawyers, often ex-legislators who have many cronies in the Legislature.

It's a tired axiom that there is a direct correlation between the level of influence at the state Capitol and the amount of campaign contributions. Last year the California Medical Association generously contributed a record $595,000 to various political campaigns. The CMA wields a lot of clout.

Similarly last year, one of the more muscled lobbying firms in the state, Advocation, Inc., collected fees of $1.4 million for tending the interests of its stable of blue-chip clients (Sumnia Corporation, J.G. Boswell Company, Dow Chemical). Donald Kent Brown, head of Advocation, is considered a very credible lobbyist. His phone calls are rarely put on hold.

All of this is but a preamble to the plight of the so-called "religious lobby," the dozen or so highly-dedicated men and women who represent the interests of organized religion and/or certain moral points of view. For the most part, they are not lawyers, don't have plush offices, don't wear tailored suits and don't breeze by Capitol receptionists. They don't hold cocktail parties for legislators, nor serve as a conduits for campaign contributions. In an increasingly amoral political firmament, where money is manna and ungodly egos prevail, the religious lobby is clearly fighting out of its weight division. Say, like David vs. Goliath.

Yet, though right doesn't always translate into might these days, the religious lobby is by no means a weak advocate or a timid opponent. Like any articulate single-issue lobby (NOW, Sierra Club, California Pro-Life Council), the religious lobby can be a formidable philosophical force, especially as the Legislature continues to deal with such volatile moral powder kegs as abortion, obscenity, gambling/alcohol, and the whole gamut of social-justice issues and First Amendment freedoms.

Another precept today holds that the most respected lobbyists are those that provide the most reliable information. Heaven, it's assumed, is not in the habit of trumpeting smoke.

More compelling even, the religious lobby, when the crisis arises, can rally its constituencies — the various church denominations in the state, representing untold millions of faithful — to make their views known. In that important respect, the religious lobby wields the presumption of votes. The only thing more influential than a check to a legislator is an outpouring of mailgrams.

It would be a mistake, however, to assume that the religious lobby, being religious, is one harmonious congregation at the Capitol. Nothing could be further from the truth. As in dogma, the Catholics don't always agree with the Protestants, nor the Mormons with the Jews. The feisty fundamentalists rarely agree with anyone, including themselves. But together or alone, they are a contingent to be reckoned with. Sometimes they win (property-tax exemptions); sometimes they lose (state lottery).

Before we further assess the impact of the religious lobby, let's meet some key members of the flock:

- **California Church Council.** One of the oldest and most illustrious (if not liberal) of the church councils, the CCC was founded in 1914 and became a full-time Capitol advocate in the mid-1960s. Like many religious lobbies, it was originally organized to oppose the rise of liquor and prostitution in the state.

Today, the CCC, which is composed of 17 Protestant church denominations (the Episcopal Church, Presbyterian Church, United Methodist Church, and so on), monitors legislation on bread-and-butter church/state issues (e.g., charitable tax deductions), as well as those secular bills the council deems worthy to take a stance on. It opposes any increase of gambling, alcohol availability, and the imposition of the death penalty. It favors gun control, sex education, rights of farm workers, and comparable worth for women. It is pro-choice on abortion.

The CCC is staffed by three lobbyists at the Capitol (only one is full-time). Like most councils, it publishes a monthly legi-watch newsletter that goes to some 6000 members. Its annual operating budget is $95,000.

- **California Catholic Council.** The Catholic conference represents the 17 Catholic bishops in the state and concerns itself with four general areas: church holdings, education, social welfare and Hispanic affairs. The first director of the office was John Henning, now state head of the AFL-CIO. He was succeeded by William Burke, who is kiddingly called "the Cardinal." Burke, 67, a Catholic, has served the Church for the past 35 years.

To show how politics sometimes makes for strange bedfellows, Burke also represented Pyrotronics, the fireworks company owned by Orange County businessman W. Patrick Moriarty who recently pleaded guilty to federal charges involving the corruption of public officials. (Neither Burke nor the Church had any connection with that case, and he no longer lobbies for Pyrotronics.) Along with Burke, the office includes lobbyist Sister Sheila Walsh and administrator Father William Wood, a Jesuit priest. Its annual budget is just under $300,000.

- **Jewish Public Affairs Committee.** JPAC serves the statewide Jewish federations and follows social-justice issues like child welfare, seniors, immigration, education and general Jewish religious concerns. Its director is David Nagler, 32, a Jew and a partner in the lobbying firm of JLA Advocates, which also has a small business clientele. JPAC's operating budget is a modest $55,000 which belies its impact at the Capitol.

Bob Sylva is a reporter for The Sacramento Bee.

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• **Friends Committee on Legislation** (Quakers). One of the more gutsy religious lobbies, FCOL was formed back in 1959 to oppose conscription and loyalty oaths — two less-than-bandwagon positions back then. Today known as "the lobby of last resort," the FCOL usually aligns itself with the ACLU on issues of prisoners' rights and criminal justice. It opposes capital punishment and calls for a moratorium on new prison construction. Its director, Patricia Marrone, 34, a non-Quaker, says, "Though we've always gone up against huge odds, our strength comes from the confidence that legislators have in the FCOL as a source of information." Its operating budget is $120,000.

Other low-budget if equally-determined religious presences that prick the Capitol conscience include the 7th Day Adventist Church-State Council, the California Office for Governmental Ministry (representing the Lutheran Church of America) and, given a relevant health/medical bill, the Church of Christ Scientist. The Mormons occasionally track legislation but usually from their headquarters in Salt Lake City. And increasingly there are a handful of "moral" sects on the scene, the most venerable being the California Council on Alcohol Problems, formerly headed by the Rev. Wilbur Korfhage (see box).

Effectiveness

Those are the major moral persuaders. Now just how effective are they? Like any issue at the Capitol, there are two sides. First, the church:

"We're not checkbook lobbyists. We have no money," says Glen Holman, long-time director of the California Church Council. "Instead, we try to get our constituents to write letters, make telephone calls and to visit personally with legislators."

Holman, 61, a one-time pastor with Christian Church Disciples, can claim some recent victories, like the sanctity of the Agricultural Labor Relations Act and the restoration of cuts in AFDC (welfare) benefits. His main concern remains the worsening status of the poor. "Right now the trend is not with the underdog," says Holman. "It's getting what you can for yourself. Reagan has encouraged that mood. We (the CCC) are not with the mood of the country."

Nor does the CCC, given its opposition to the death pen-

Wilbur Korfhage:
Chaplain of the Senate

By DAN WALTERS

Wilbur Korfhage, the 85-year-old chaplain of California's state Senate, has watched a lot of politicians in his day and even has watched one of the most famous of them grow up. Back in 1937, when Korfhage was a district superintendent for the Methodist Church in Minnesota, he used to visit regularly with a fellow Methodist minister named Mondale, who had a young son named Walter.

Later, after Walter became a U.S. Senator and Korfhage began lobbying on liquor and gambling matters, they met again, this time in Washington. "Walter was very friendly to me," says Korfhage of the former vice president and 1984 Democratic presidential nominee.

Korfhage and his wife came to California in 1960, after 35 years in the ministry, because the climate would be better for her health. He helped found the California Council on Alcohol Problems — a multi-denominational, church-supported lobby that concentrates on liquor and gambling legislation, opposing the expansion of either activity.

"I had to raise the money," he recalls, "by preaching in churches."

Korfhage moved to Sacramento in 1976 after his wife died, and in 1980 became the Senate's chaplain. "It was odd to me that a lobbyist against gambling and alcohol would be invited to be chaplain to the Senate," Korfhage says, acknowledging that both practices are popular among lawmakers, and the lobbyists for those industries are among the Capitol's most powerful.

During his years as a lobbyist in Sacramento, Korfhage found himself going up against men who were making hundreds of thousands of dollars to press the interests of gambling and liquor.

He never made more than $6000 per year. "I looked for a cheap hotel and sometimes I didn't get paid for a month or two," he says.

"They defeated me right along," he says cheerfully. But he had some victories, too, such as the nation's first "implied consent" law on drunken driving, which required suspected drunks to take a blood, breath or urine test to retain their drivers' licenses. Korfhage pays tribute to the late Senator Randolph Collier for helping him on that one.

He believes his lobbying laid the groundwork for the early 1980s reaction against drunken drivers that resulted in tough legislation. And he believes the declining consumption of alcohol is a testament to the rightness of his cause, although, he says, "I wish before I die I could bring prohibition back," and says he himself has never tasted an alcoholic beverage.

But while the campaign against alcohol, or at least its abuse, seems to be winning, the campaign against gambling is another story. "We are losing," Korfhage says sadly, pointing to the new state lottery, expansion of horse racing and poker parlors, bingo and other evidence. But despite such disappointments, Korfhage often lingers in the Senate chambers to watch the debate on bills, having developed a lively interest in politics from his lobbying days.

That interest extends to those prayers. Often, without mentioning specific pending bills, Korfhage puts a little political twist on his offerings. "I work hard on it," he says of his prayers, saying they avoid specifics but have "a kind of an aura or a backdrop in what is happening."

Dan Walters is a political columnist for The Sacramento Bee.

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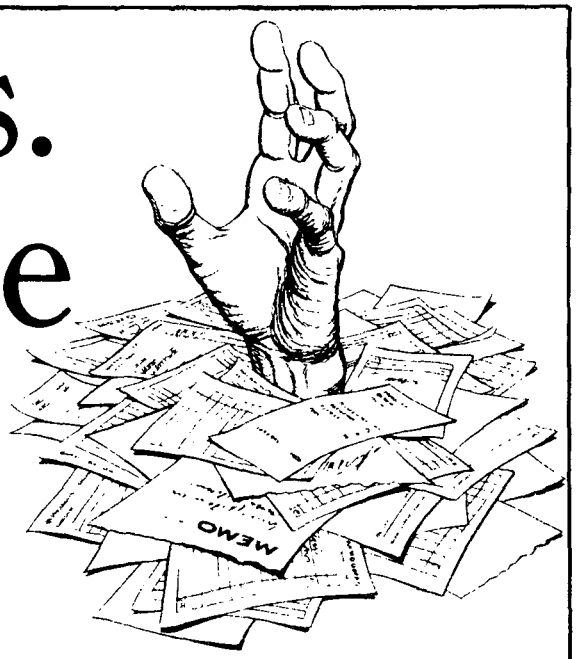
Insanity Vs. Self-Defense



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alty and its support of abortion and gay rights, likely reflect the mood of many of its parishioners (an anomaly characteristic of many liberal church councils). "We're part of the immoral minority," says Homan humorously. "We disagree with (the Reverend Jerry) Falwell on 90 percent of the issues." Holman's mission is to advocate the views decreed by the governing church councils. That agenda is set in the pulpit, not in the pew.

"What is really going to persuade (legislators) is the presumption that we are going to bring them votes," says Father William Wood, head of the Catholic conference, which conditionally represents the state's 5.5 million Catholics. That constituency may translate into influence, but not always.

William Burke, who has more years on the scene than any of the religion lobbyists, says churches invariably get what they want when it is a strict church issue (like tax exemptions), but when it comes to moral legislation, "You take your chances along with everybody else." Burke also says that legislators are more inclined to be persuaded by their own political philosophy than by private religious convictions. In other words, Catholic legislators don't always vote the Catholic line.

"In any effort, you have to have a coalition," says the Reverend Harvey Chinn, 60, a United Methodist pastor and head of the California Council on Alcohol Problems. "We are not the knight on the white charger. We try to focus church opposition to any expansion of gambling and the availability of alcohol."

In those two crusades, the CCAP has been successful — recently helping defeat a bill to legalize off-track betting, as well as lobbying another that prohibited the sale of alcoholic beverages at the Capitol. Though the CCAP represents no official church entity as such, Chinn says it boasts 10,000 churches on its mailing list and has a budget of $120,000. "We have the best mailing list of any organization," he claims. It also has rising public opinion on its side, which makes the CCAP a very potent lobby.

Influence

On the question of influence, Chinn, a teetotaler and a man respected for his command of the issues, says, "Moral arguments don't make that much difference to legislators. Instead, we note the costs of (alcohol abuse) to society. We point out the costs of gambling in increased crime. We talk in dollars and cents."

In that down-to-earth approach, Chinn notes. "Truth is on our side. We never carry a six-pound Bible into a hearing room."

How are these groups viewed by those who are lobbied?

"On any given issue they can be very effective," says Democratic Assemblyman Art Agnos of San Francisco who, as author of the controversial gay rights bill (AB1), has often caught hellfire from the conservative wing of the religious lobby. "It's a very low-key lobby," he adds, "and only gets high-profile over an issue like abortion or gambling," And, of course, gay rights.

(Curiously enough, the religious lobby sometimes speaks in many tongues. For instance, though the California Catholic Conference refused to take a position on AB1 — fearing that the Church would be perceived as implicitly sanctioning homosexuality — Bishop Francis Quinn of Sacramento wrote a letter in strong support of the legislation.)

In ranking the religions by influence, Agnos, who first states that none of them holds a candle to the lay lobbies (oil, liquor, medicine), rates the Jews tops, followed by the Catholics and Protestants. "The Jews are in a class by themselves," says Agnos, a Greek Orthodox. "They are

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Dueling Bibles:
Timberlake vs. Sheldon

Call it "Dueling Bibles."

For ten years Reverend W.B. Timberlake and his Committee on Moral Concerns had a corner on rectitude at the State Capitol. When Timberlake, a Southern Baptist minister, inveighed — whether against abortion, pornography or gay rights — most legislators listened. He was a tireless, one-man crusader for bedrock Christian fundamentalism.

Today, Timberlake, a large, jovial, somewhat lumbering man with a distinct Oklahoma accent, faces competition for the Capitol's conservative conscience from an Orange County minister, Lou Sheldon — a graduate of Princeton Theological Seminary and state chairman of something called California Coalition on Traditional Values.

Sheldon, 50, unlike Timberlake, is smooth, articulate and politically shrewd. It's his ambitious strategy to have Traditional Values a major lobby at the Capitol, and a political power-broker in the state. Sheldon hinted at the tenor of his organization in a Capitol press conference last April when he suggested that victims of AIDS be isolated at "cities of refuge" like former leper colonies.

Recently, Traditional Values devoted an entire issue of its tabloid newsletter, *Midnight Alarm*, to the rising threat of the "militant" homosexual lifestyle. Reportedly, one million issues of the tabloid were printed and distributed throughout the state.

Sheldon is clearly trying to steal Timberlake's fire, although most Capitol observers credit Timberlake with single-handedly defeating AB1 in 1984. Though he coyly pretends to be unaware of Timberlake's presence ("Who's he?"), Sheldon confidently predicts that his gathering forces will soon be a moral arbiter in the state. "Things are escalating," says Sheldon, who plans on opening a lobbying office in Sacramento shortly.

Traditional Values already operates a PAC, which last year raised $20,000 for various candidates embracing "traditional values" (anti-abortion and pornography, pro-life and free enterprise). Sheldon also says that Traditional Values is currently waging a membership drive, and one day expects the organization to boast 500,000 supporters willing to donate $15 a month for political

TIMBERLAKE

SHELDON

action. With those votes and that money, Sheldon anticipates wielding political muscle.

"Maybe not by the next election, but certainly by 1988. Somebody isn't going to know what hit them," he promises. "They (legislators) are going to wake up to a whole new ballgame."

Where does this leave Reverend Timberlake and his Committee on Moral Concerns?

"I've got no complaint against Lou Sheldon," says Timberlake graciously. "He's not here!"

In the upcoming battle of the Bibles, Timberlake, who claims his committee numbers 10,000 faithful, clearly believes he has the upper hand. "We can get more letters out than Lou Sheldon or Harvey Chinn," says Timberlake, his voice rising, "because we appeal to people on basic moral values."

Bob Sylva

very effective, well-organized and well-informed. They have a network that can respond instantly on an issue." Democratic Assemblyman Richard Alatorre of Los Angeles who, as chairman of the Governmental Organization Committee, hears testimony frequently from the religious lobby, grudgingly admires their tenacity but privately deplores what he perceives as their occasional hypocrisy.

"They don't show a consistent outrage," says Alatorre. He points to those religious groups who are vehement against abortion but conspicuously silent on prenatal care and the plight of unwanted children. "They're never around on those issues," says Alatorre.

But Alatorre isn't entirely unaffected. "The guy I really admire is Reverend Chinn," says Alatorre. "He's awesome in his articulation." That's a view shared by no less a personage than Judge James Garibaldi, dean of lobbyists and long-time advocate for the wholesale liquor industry.

Of his spirited adversary the Reverend Chinn, Garibaldi praises, "He is a decent, high-class person." Of the impact of the religious lobby in general, Garibaldi says diplomatically, "There are many different ways a legislator can be made aware of a person's problem. They (the lobby) have a built-in grass-roots constituency with their various congregations. They can operate very effectively without having any money."

Finally, one person with a unique perspective on the issue is Leon Ralph, one-time chairman of the powerful Assembly Rules Committee and now the born-again pastor of the small interdenominational Church of God in Sacramento. Ralph is familiar with both sides of the aisle. He currently lobbies for the California State Baptist Convention.

On the work of the religious lobby, Ralph, formerly a hard-driving Democratic assemblyman from Watts, offers these words of wisdom: "Most legislators will listen to a (moral argument), as long as they aren't pounded on and pushed into an unreasonable position. Some of them (religion lobbyists) tend to show intolerance. That can alienate legislators."

Ralph preaches that one should always obey the First Commandment of politics, which states, he says: "You have to realize that people don't always see things the way you do."

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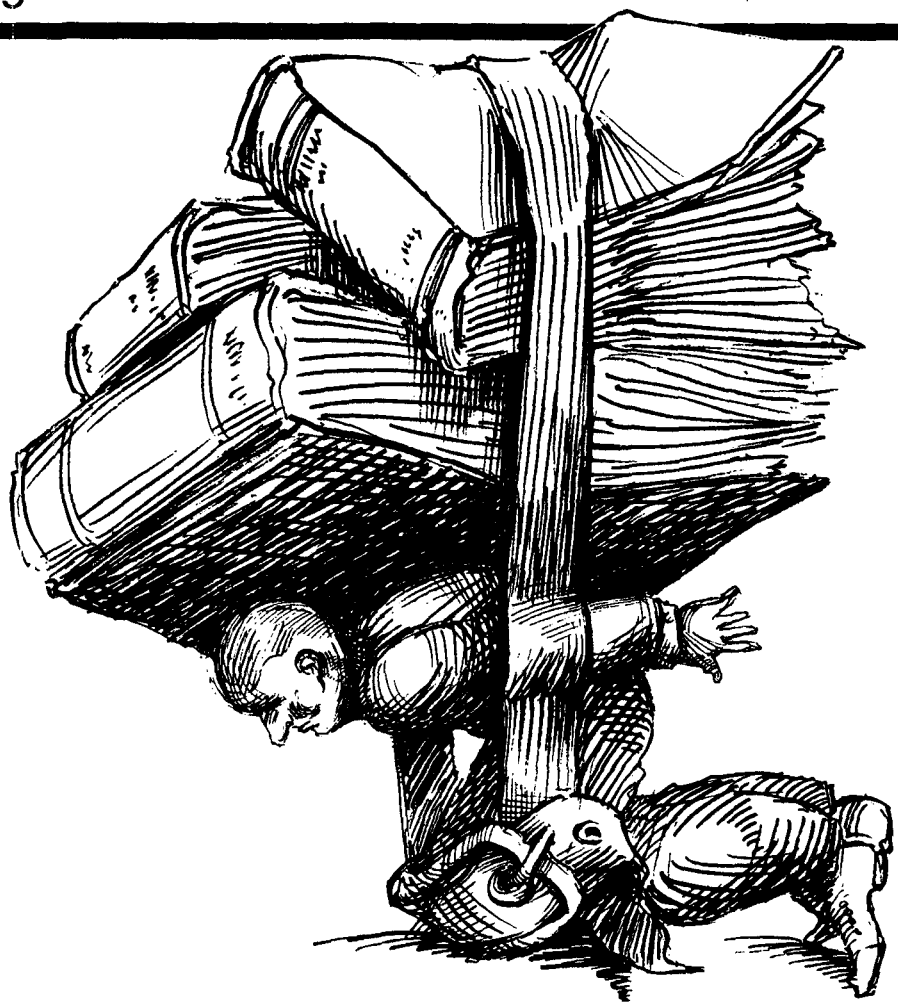
COMMUNITY COLLEGE PLIGHT

System suffers from lack of central authority, falling enrollment and confusion over mission



By DAVID G. SAVAGE

There was a time about 15 years ago when a seat on the Board of Trustees of the Los Angeles Community College District could be a ticket to a political future — as former Governor Jerry Brown, Los Angeles County Supervisor Mike Antonovich, county District Attorney Ira Reiner and Assemblywoman Marian LaFollette can attest.

Recently, however, it has been a ticket to obscurity. In March three incumbents on the LA board appeared at a forum at Valley College in Van Nuys and were booed by students upset at the decline of the two-year colleges. When given a chance to talk, the board members repeated a simple message: Don't blame us. It was the governor and the Legislature who set the fees and reduced the community college budget.

In the end, both sides went home angry, but both were essentially correct: The community colleges are going downhill, and local trustees can't do much about it. Since Proposition 13, the financial fate of the community colleges has been decided each year in Sacramento. But while district trustees have lost the power to run the colleges, no one in Sacramento has stepped in to assume their places.

Over the past three years, California's community colleges have been caught in what their own leaders label a "downward spiral" as budget cutbacks have forced the cancellation of classes, which in turn have led to further budget cuts and still fewer classes. At the same time, critics have questioned the mission of the community colleges. What are they to do, and who should pay for them to do it? Should they see themselves as junior colleges, preparing students to transfer to a four-year university? Should they instead be job-training institutions? Or basic education schools for adults who can't read? Or centers for adults with the leisure time who want to shape up their minds or bodies?

In the first instances, these are educational questions, but ultimately they are political ones. And these days, there is no political body with the legal authority or the clout to set a clear course for California's troubled com-

David G. Savage is an education writer for The Los Angeles Times.

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A NEW COMMUNITY COLLEGE CHIEF

Over the past seven years, Joshua L. Smith has turned around a Manhattan community college, taking a store-front operation that was losing students and making it into a new, $126 million campus with a good academic reputation and a rising enrollment.

Now, he gets a tougher assignment. In September, Smith, 50, will take over as chancellor of California's community college system, a position that has grown in importance as the colleges have shrunk in size and stature in recent years. He succeeds Gerald Hayward, 47, who weathered five years in the chancellor's job but who decided there are more pleasant and rewarding ways to make a living.

Battered by a prolonged fight over fees and budgets that have fallen 25 percent below inflation since 1978, the community colleges have been losing students and programs. In the past three years the colleges have lost more than one-fifth of their enrollment. But the Board of Governors of the California Community Colleges believe they have found the man to turn things around. Smith is, they say, a noted educator and proven administrator. He is also an outsider.

At the press conference announcing his appointment in April, Smith noted that his home state of Massachusetts provided the model for American public education, but it was California that was "the nation's pioneer for community colleges." This state still enrolls more than one-fifth of the nation's community college students, and perhaps it takes an outsider, he said, to remind Californians of the virtues of what he called "democracy's colleges."

Board President George Kieffer, who made the announcement, said Smith had "national stature as an education leader, proven administrative ability and a commitment to community college education."

Born and raised in Boston, Smith graduated from the Boston Latin School, got a bachelor's degree and a masters and a doctorate at Harvard. He has been an Air Force pilot in California, a school administrator in Pittsburgh, a program officer at the Ford Foundation, an instructor at Harvard, a dean of education at City College of New York, and, since 1977, president of the Borough of Manhattan Community College. One statistic about his school might surprise some Californians and frighten others: It charges tuition of $1300 a year.

At $100 per year, California's community colleges still have the nation's lowest fees. Asked by reporters about his views on tuition, Smith said, "I believe it's possible to have open access with tuition, provided that the state makes available financial aid to those who need it."

David G. Savage

munity colleges. "Right now, no one is in control, and you can't hold anyone accountable," says George David Kieffer, a Los Angeles attorney who chairs the state board of governors for the California Community Colleges. Kieffer didn't have to look too far to find an education system where the lines of political authority and governance seem clear. Both the University of California and the California State University are statewide systems in which money decisions are made in Sacramento, policy decisions made by an independent board and academic decisions made on campus. The University of California Board of Regents appoints a president for the nine-campus system, and based on his or her recommendations, names the chancellors for each campus. The same is true for the 19-campus California State University Board of Trustees.

Control

What is lost here is local control. The residents of Davis or Riverside, to take two examples, don't decide who is to run the University of California branches there, nor do they have a direct influence on what is taught on those campuses. The political decisions are made in Sacramento and Berkeley, and most of the academic decisions are made by the faculties.

By contrast, the state community college board and its chancellor do not appoint college presidents — the local boards do — and they do not set policies for the 106 colleges in 70 independent districts around the state. Nevertheless, the state board, its members appointed by the governor, has been trying recently to set a statewide agenda for the colleges. For example, in 1984 the board, led by Kieffer and outgoing chancellor Gerald Hayward, said the colleges should concentrate on two priorities: preparing students to transfer to a four-year university and preparing students to get a job. Adult "life-long learning" programs and remedial education could take a backseat, according to the board.

Generally speaking, local board reaction has been mixed. A handful of schools around the state, which already emphasize a big transfer program, have applauded the proposal. But others have given it little more than lip service. Meanwhile, though, all seem ready to fight any move that would put more power into the chancellor's office.

If the Los Angeles college board is at all typical, local board members seem to view themselves as being accountable first to the faculty union. Though they serve an area of 4.3 million residents with nine community colleges, all seven trustees in Los Angeles were elected with the backing of the union, the one group that still pays close attention to the board. Thus, although district enrollment is down to 90,229 this spring from a high of 136,000 in 1981, the district has not laid off any faculty members.

This non-system could function during a period when everyone agrees in general on what needs to be done. These days, that is obviously not the case. The Democratically-controlled Legislature and the Republican governor, it is an understatement to say, have been divided on the two-year colleges. In 1983 the Democrats held out against a mandatory, $50 fee for community-college students, but Governor George Deukmejian held out even longer in favor of the fee and it was enacted.

That dispute symbolized a fundamental disagreement over the role and function of the community colleges, one that was not ended by the fee compromise.

Many Democrats have tended to view the colleges, as one committee consultant said, "like a branch of the social welfare system." For the student, by this view, there would be no charges, no standards, no requirements (such as maintaining a "C" average), no restrictions on repeating classes and no penalties for dropping out in mid-term. The

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state's taxpayers would pay the full cost.

Many Republicans have eyed the colleges with some wariness and have pushed for more restrictive standards. For example, they supported requiring students to pay part of the cost, to maintain a minimum grade average and to pay a "drop fee" if they quit a class.

Both views are reasonable. Many Californians will attest that they owe their success to the open door offered by the community colleges. And in the decades ahead, millions more, particularly minorities and immigrants, must rely on the open door offered by the two-year colleges if they are to get the education and training needed to become productive citizens. At the same time, education is in essence a conservative undertaking. It requires and rewards discipline and hard work. Courses that require neither may not be worth supporting.

Philosophical fall-out

Although education in general is beset by this philosophical divide between liberals and conservatives, no segment of education suffers more from it than the community colleges. The problem is apparent in the name. Are they to be "community" institutions, offering anything and everything the community desires? Or are they to be "colleges," with clear standards that do not depend on the wishes of the community?

The philosophical gap has become so wide that the Legislature recently did what politicians usually do when they can't settle such a dispute. They set up an "independent commission" to study the issue. The Commission to Review the Master Plan for Higher Education, whose members were appointed by the Legislature and the governor, is supposed to examine the state's higher-education system now that 25 years have past since the state's higher-education plan was enacted into law. However, if you ask anyone in Sacramento what it is this commission is going to examine, they will likely reply: "They are going to look at the mission of the community colleges."

Kieffer, who represents the community colleges on the commission, has already done a lot of thinking about the issue and puts forth a reasonable argument.

First, the 106 colleges cannot be run effectively by a group of politicians. The Legislature has recently "been acting like a 120-member community college education board" seeking to decide matters large and small, Kieffer said in a recent speech to the state Academic Senate. Though political officials on occasion "make good broad public policy . . . they are poor craftsmen of specific educational policies and programs." he said.

Second, the chancellor's office for the California Community Colleges is a state agency "like the Department of Motor Vehicles" and is hamstrung by bureaucratic requirements. It needs more independence and clout if it is do the job, he said. Third, the local boards, though they need the latitude to run their colleges, cannot maintain true local control when the state is providing the bulk of the money to pay for the operation.

It's not clear that these are the best or the only statewide policies, but it is clear that the state needs some political body that can speak for the two-year colleges. The Master Plan study commission is going to spend a year examining this issue, and a legislative committee will then review their recommendations. But when it is also said and done, don't be surprised if the panel concludes that if the state is going to pay for the colleges, some state body should take charge of running them.

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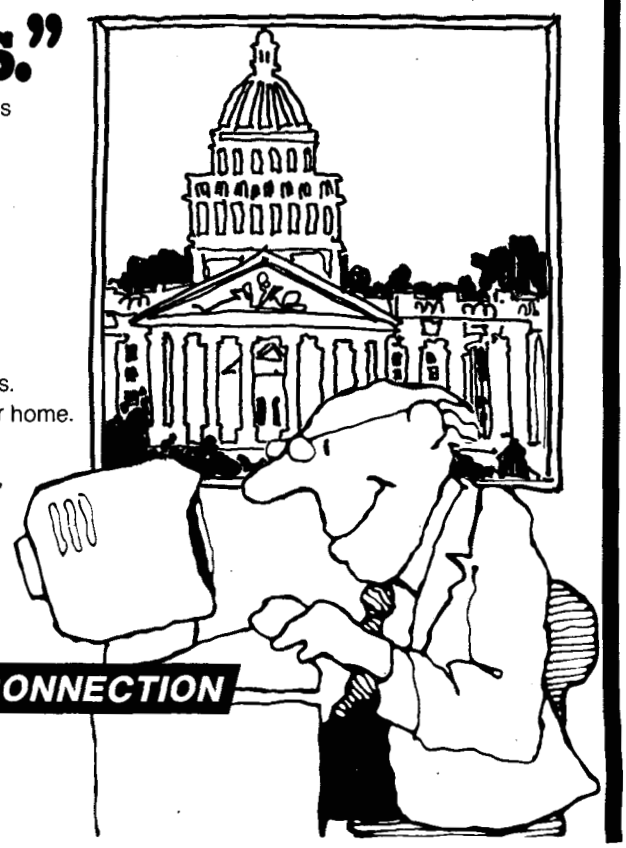

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A. ALAN POST

Memoir of a legislative analyst; success from hard work, humor and a few good schemes

The legislative analyst is employed by the Legislature to analyze and explain virtually every issue that involves money, a task that covers a lot of ground. But A. Alan Post did it well for 28 years (from 1949 until 1977) and, while doing so, became one of the most respected persons in state government. Retired and now living in Sacramento, he hints that he schemed a bit to achieve success.

By A. ALAN POST

As legislative analyst for almost thirty years, I learned that while good analysis is difficult to produce, getting someone to heed recommendations is even more so. Ronald Reagan used to say when he first ran for governor that no one paid much attention to the legislative analyst, but that he was going to. He soon decided, however, that while it was difficult not to listen, he did not have to pay much attention.

By providing thorough and candid evaluation of the annual budget bill and all other cost measures, the office receives a great deal of legislative and public attention. But the acceptability of the recommendations is a more difficult issue. Public pressure is a necessary ingredient. It is a temptation to scheme to develop that pressure.

Rolland A. Vandegrift, the first legislative analyst, was a political figure, having been previously director of finance and an active Republican. His attempt to gain public acceptance of his recommendations as legislative analyst had caused the Legislature to place severe constraints on the office. Had I not chosen to ignore the strict letter of those rules, substituting a rule of reason, the office would have been relatively ineffective. But at the same time, the legislative analyst must know when he is being excessively heavy-handed. While he must have a plan for being heard clearly, he should not appear to be seeking notoriety or attention which can be labeled political. He must be extremely circumspect.

I recall that soon after I became legislative analyst, I presented an office recommendation affecting what was then called the Board of Medical Examiners. At the time, board members sounded out doctors in a local community before granting a license to any out-of-state doctor who wanted to practice there. If there was opposition, the board in a star-chamber session would fail the applicant. It was an emotional issue and we recommended that there be open examinations and that licenses be granted on the basis of merit.

At the close of my statement to the committee, a legislator came up to me and said angrily, "What are you trying to do, run for governor?" Within minutes another came up and said, "Anytime you want to run for governor let me know. I'd like to help." I don't know which of them disturbed me most.

If the legislative analyst is to deal with real issues, regardless of political sensitivity, he must himself be sensitive to political moods and know how far he can go in his investigations and recommendations without being stopped. He should avoid raising issues in such a way that he will be told to desist. When, for example, the office's criticism of the state controller's system of political appointment of inheritance-tax appraisers became a liability politically to an incumbent, I was instructed to avoid embarrassing him. The office in no way lessened its criticism, but did so by attacking the system in its broadest historical terms and as inefficient and costly to taxpayers. I never heard further about the political effects, though I held my breath. When we planned to accuse the state treasurer of improper investment of state funds, the committee chairman let me know that I had better be right. We were. That treasurer resigned after the facts were out.

Governors

Governors are a special problem. While the Legislature wants hard-hitting review of the programs contained in the governor's budget, there is a fine line between doing that and attacking the governor's politics.

In 1971 Governor Reagan's budget contained major reductions for welfare, Medi-Cal and education without proposing specific legislation needed to effect the cuts. The proximate result would have been that eligible welfare and Medi-Cal recipients would have streamed into county facilities for aid. Their budgets would have borne the cost rather than the state. Similarly, local school district budgets would have risen sharply. The impact on property taxes, which constituted the principal source of local revenues, was apparent.

The Assembly Ways and Means Committee, upon receiv-

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ing the budget, immediately scheduled a hearing and requested my comments prior to receipt of our formal written budget analysis.

At breakfast the morning of the meeting I discussed briefly with my wife the wisdom of my intended statement. With her enthusiastic support I told the committee that if the budget was passed "in the amounts proposed and with no more control over the final actual expenditures for welfare, Medi-Cal and schools than can be extracted from these proposals, this bill may become known as the Property Tax Increase Act of 1971."

The reaction from the governor and Republicans was immediate. Governor Reagan complained that the legislative analyst had been wrong before and that his staff "is more energetic than it is efficient." *The Sacramento Bee* commented that "If Post were governor, if only for a year or two, the state likely would be in far better shape than it is today." A national reporter called within hours and remarked, "Yesterday you were just another analyst, today you are a celebrity." Frankly, that was not my intention. I simply wanted to make a serious point in a manner that would get the committee's attention.

The matter did not end with the governor's acid comments. Senior Republican legislators came to me saying that the governor's staff had informed them that the office was dominated by Democrats, even though I was an independent and formerly a Republican. The seriousness with which they enunciated the problem to them, along with disclosures that investigations of the personal lives of our staff were reportedly being made by the governor's office, led me to take an unprecedented step. I went personally to the registrar of voters and quietly checked out the registrations of my staff. Almost without exception senior staff members were Republicans. I informed two of my closest Republican legislators of the substance of my findings and suggested that they could do as I had done if they had doubts. That was the last I heard of that.

Governor Edmund G. "Pat" Brown was sometimes perplexed by the Legislature's willingness to take the legislative analyst's advice in place of his agency experts, and complained about what Brown perceived as my short-sightedness on some budget matters. But he never showed the slightest disposition to intervene in the process. On the other hand, he on occasion picked me out of a meeting to ask for my comments. During a joint meeting of university and college administrators and board members he once said, "I see Mr. Post in the audience. I know he normally speaks only to the Legislature and to God, but I wonder if he would be kind enough to comment on this proposal we're wrestling with."

"Governor," I responded, "because I see no legislators present I presume that I am to assume that I am speaking to God." The governor genuinely enjoyed such irreverence. I never would have ventured such brashness in the presence of "the Earl of Warren."

Governor Goodwin Knight at one point was perturbed by the effect with my addresses to organizations like the state Chamber of Commerce and the taxpayers' association, strong Republican bastions of support, was having on his budget projects. I was warning them of coming tax hikes unless there were major changes in expenditure programs. Knight complained mildly to my Budget Committee chairman. He, in turn, counselled to keep my advice as close to the legislative process as possible. "Making waves around the state is hard on governors," was the way he put it. Actually this restraint was all to my advantage. It made it possible for me to decline numerous speaking engagements suggested to organizations by legislators and made it more difficult for anyone to label as political our controversial findings and recommendations.

Most embarrassing compliment

Interestingly, the politically most embarrassing comment from a governor came from Edmund G. "Jerry" Brown when he said he agreed with everything we said about his budget. It was on that note that he firmly established his "less is beautiful" political position.

The regular appearances before the fiscal committees of the Legislature afforded me a great opportunity to influence public policy. Either I or my chief deputy attended all such meetings. Present also was the representative of the Department of Finance, presenting the position of the governor. The committee had previously received our office's analysis of all bills to be heard. Following the presentation by the author and questioning by the committee members, both the governor's representative and ours were asked for comments. Since my position on the bill was a personal assessment, not that of a superior, and dealt with the fate of a bill introduced by a member of the Legislature, by which in turn I was employed, there was some considerable thought given by me on how to say this bill has real problems or defects. Despite the strain involved, with the objective and thorough review given to the written analysis of the bill by our staff, I was able to concentrate on the fundamental elements of an incisive comment and, frankly, enjoy the situation. The Legislature in most of its public proceedings is good theater. I confess to having been an increasingly willing actor to make my points. Frank Lanterman, Republican chairman of the Ways and Means Committee during the Reagan years, used to interrupt to say "I see Mr. Post is rolling his eyes (or frowning or shuffling his feet) at the author's testimony. What's the problem, Mr. Post?"

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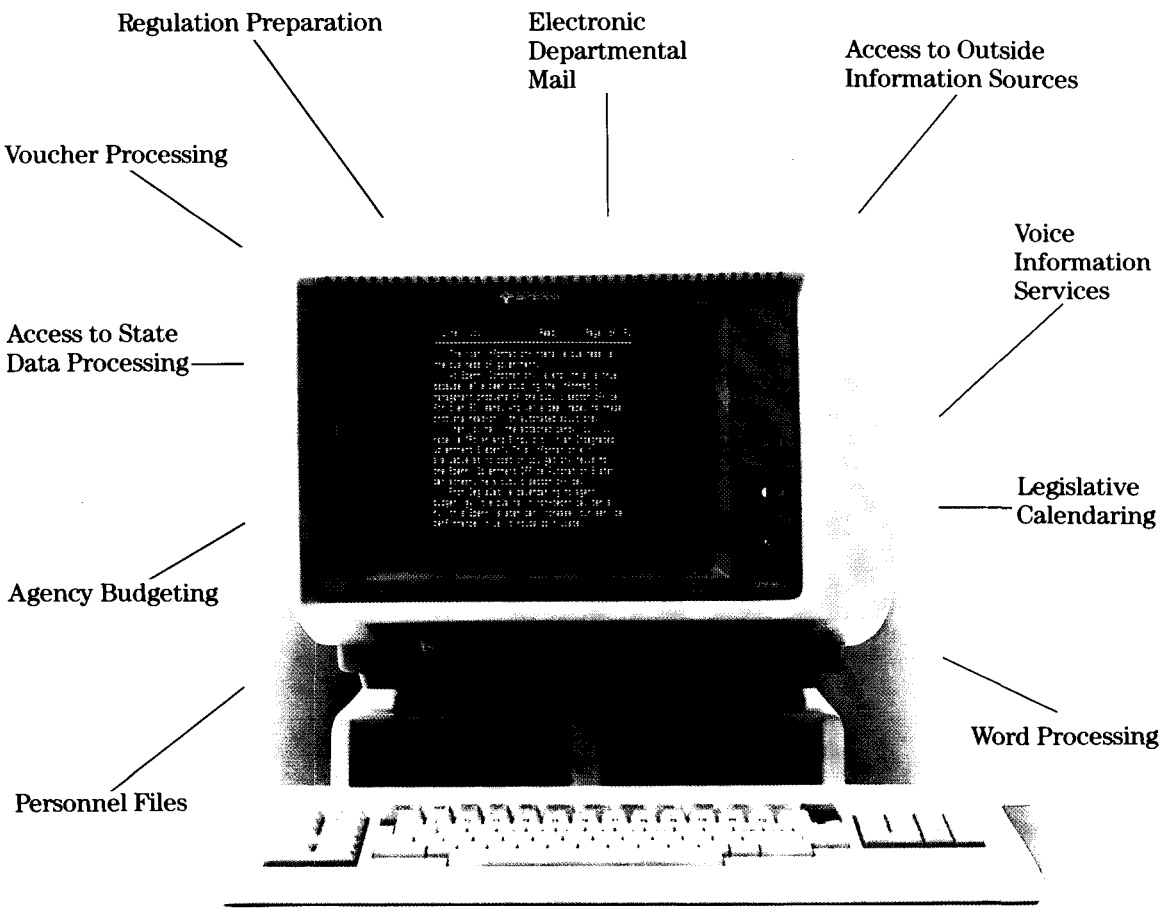

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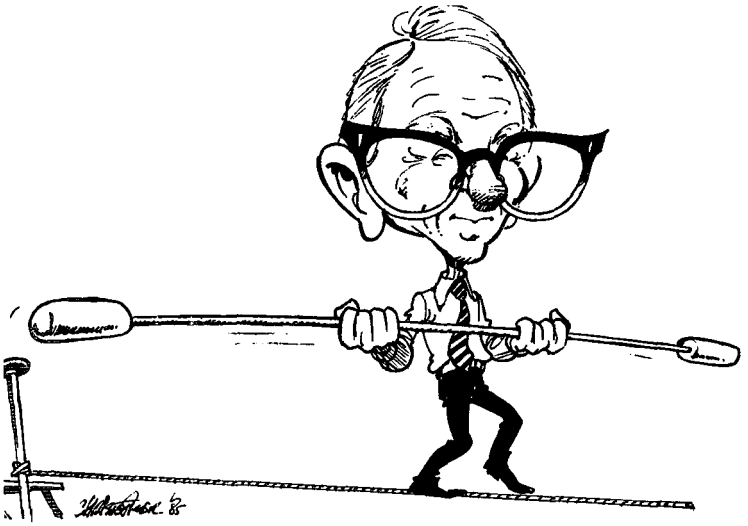

warning. Our committee comments were for us the moment of truth.

Jesse Unruh, when he chaired the Assembly Ways and Means Committee, was given such a bill by a favored constituent group. Unruh was, in my opinion, too smart and right-thinking to get into that position very often. in this case, however, he offered a bill to link the salaries of certain commission referees with those of judges. I argued strongly against such linkages by statute, and when the votes failed to materialize, Unruh pulled off the bill.

When I got back to my office the phone rang. It was Mr. Unruh. "Alan," he said, " I would think you would not give that kind of treatment to the chairman's bill."

I recall gulping and trying to collect my wits. "Jesse," I said, "I would think that a Ways and Means chairman would not introduce that kind of a bill." There was a pause, and Unruh said, "I guess you're right." That wasn't the end of the story. The bill got out of committee when I wasn't around. But Jesse Unruh never held the event against me. That was typical of the Legislature's respect for honest disagreement and its willingness to let us do our job.

There were, of course, exceptions. For years I was operating with three of the necessary four Senate votes on my Budget Committee standing ready to fire me. But I knew where they were coming from and if I could keep that forth vote in place and not unduly antagonize the Assembly speaker, who controlled the Assembly votes, I was in good shape. Most speakers didn't pay much attention to us anyway unless they got complaints. As far as I could tell, they were quite supportive.

In doing our jobs, my staff aides and I always sought to make our analysts and recommendations as brief as possible. When a junior analyst came to me with a lengthy report that demolished some gubernatorial proposals with every bit of evidence available, I inevitably instructed him or her to cut the excess verbiage and make it as succinct as possible. My goal was to assure that our handbook analysis of the governor's budget was always physically smaller than the governor's budget document itself. That way, when a member of a fiscal committee was rushing from his office to attend a budget hearing he would take our handbook instead of the governor's intimidating tome.

Political interactions are filled with humor as well as stress and conflict. With circumspection the legislative analyst can participate in the interest of both making his point and easing the tension of the committee deliberations. Senator George Miller habitually enlivened his Finance Committee meetings with humor. After one of his fast remarks I responded in kind. He looked down at me after the laughter subsided and said ruefully, "There isn't a straight man on this committee."

I learned soon, however, that what was intended to be a humorous aside for the committee's benefit might be picked up by the ever-lurking press. Since these asides were invariably of no political significance, their publication served only to let me know how exposed a position one occupies before a major committee.

When Governor Warren proposed budgeting television sets for placement in mental hospital wards, I remarked to the Ways and Means Committee that we recommended approval.

"We consider most TV programs to be eminently suitable for mental patients," I said. Assemblyman Charles Conrad, a part-time television actor, leaped to his feet in protest, and, of course, the press spread it around the state.

During a debate on the proposal to increase state employee salaries Senator Randolph Collier, the crusty chairman of the Finance Committee at the time, complained that with coffee breaks and going to the lavatories there wasn't much time left for state employees to do their jobs.

"Senator," I intoned, "we have made a careful study of that problem. We find that there is a direct correlation between those two activities." The next day the comment was in the newspapers, and the following week in a national magazine as a one-liner. Later that year I received from a science professor at the University of California a clipping from a German professional journal noting that a California analyst had observed this phenomenon in his investigations.

If, as Senator Miller said, we were not much read, the Legislature gave us the opportunity to be heard, and we took it, for better or for worse.

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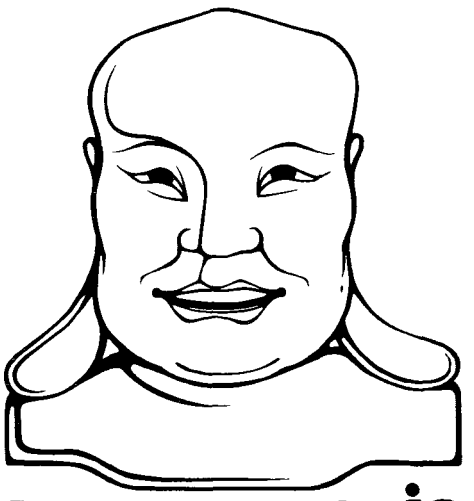

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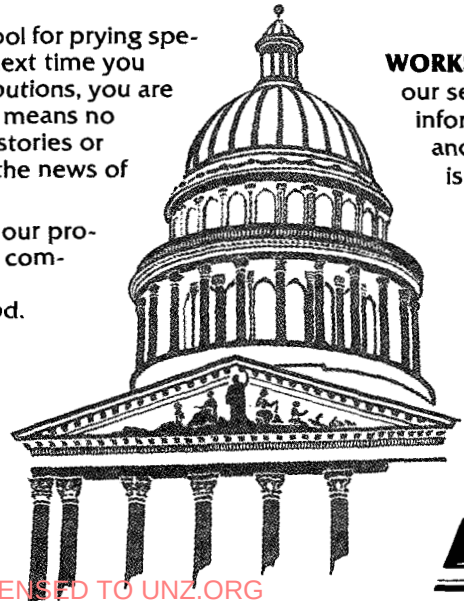

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Experts explain the business of buying signatures

By CHARLES M. PRICE

California has always been a prime exporter of social-political trends to the other 49 states. From hot-tubbing and hang-gliding to professional campaign-management firms and latter-day tax protests, the Golden State is often ahead. And now there seems to be a new export: professional petitioning.

Professional petitioners are persons who collect signatures for a fee to qualify an initiative for the ballot. While professional petitioning has long been a feature in California, it has not been used much in the other initiative states. However, over the last several years California petition firms have qualified initiatives in Montana, Arizona, Oregon, Florida and in Houston, Texas. While not all states allow the initiative (27 do not), and though a few of the others prohibit paid petition-circulators or require notarized petitions (thus discouraging direct-mail petitioning), in at least 19 states and hundreds of initiative-option cities across the country, California professional petitioners or local entrepreneurs imitating them are becoming routine parts of political life.

Professional petitioning has been part of California politics since the 1930s, when the number of signatures needed to qualify a measure for the ballot began to become immense. (The number of signatures needed is based on a percentage of the most recent gubernatorial vote. Thus, as population grows, so grows the vote and the signature requirement.)

In 1912, the year the initiative was incorporated into the state constitution, one could qualify an initiative with signatures from only 30,857 registered voters. By 1935 the number had grown to 186,378. Today it stands at 393,835.

Furthermore, those numbers are for the easier type of initiative to qualify; that is, a measure that is meant to become a statutory law. To amend the state constitution, the numbers get even bigger. Basically, the signature requirement is five percent of the last gubernatorial vote for a statute initiative and eight percent for a proposed constitutional amendment. Today the eight percent equals a massive 630,136 registered-voter names.

Beginnings

In any case, Joe Robinson of San Francisco decided in the 1930s that it would be more efficient to pay persons to gather signatures than it would be to depend on the varying commitments of volunteers. Although critics complained that he was prostituting a noble idea (the initiative itself) and that only special interests could afford to hire him, there was no law to stop him, and a thriving business began.

In 1968 Los Angeles County Assessor Phil Watson hired Robinson to qualify a property-tax relief measure for the state ballot (a forerunner to Proposition 13 of Jarvis-Gann). Fred Kimball, a Los Angeles real estate manager who was

Charles M. Price is a professor of political science at California State University, Chico.

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active in the campaign, saw that the signature drive was floundering. (Robinson by this time was quite elderly and would die within a few years.) As a result, Kimball stepped in and reorganized the effort. Although the measure was to be defeated by voters, Kimball did his job well enough to get it to the ballot.

In 1972 Watson asked Kimball to help qualify another property-tax-relief initiative, and in 1973 then-Governor Ronald Reagan recruited Kimball for a Reagan-sponsored tax-reform proposal. Recognizing an opportunity when he saw one, Kimball eventually retired from the real estate business and formally organized his petition company in 1978. Today the F. G. Kimball Company is headquartered at Westlake Village in Los Angeles County and is run by Kimball's 27-year-old son, Kelly.

Meanwhile, a student at Valley Community College in Los Angeles, Tom Bader, was also sensing opportunity. Interested in politics, he answered a newspaper ad in 1979 to gather signatures for an off-track betting proposal and found himself fascinated by the work. Within the year he had founded his own firm, now known as American Petition Consultants. The firm is headquartered in Costa Mesa, though Bader, who is 29, says he is planning a move to San Diego. In any case, Bader's firm and Kimball's dominate the petition-circulation business in California today.

Bader and Kelly Kimball operate much alike. Each maintains connections with experienced crew chiefs in major urban centers who can be called upon at any time. When a signature drive is launched, the crew chiefs hire petition circulators (often through classified ads), give them instructions that include an explanation of the measure and send them on their way.

Generally speaking, petition circulators are told to seek out signatures where people are moving slowly or standing in line. If a potential signer seems uncertain or is opposed to the initiative idea, the circulator is told to ask the person to sign anyway so that voters will get a chance to decide. By law, an initiative sponsor has only 150 days in which to gather signatures after the attorney general has given the measure a title and summary of its provisions (which must appear on the petition forms). If the job isn't done in that time, the initiative automatically fails.

Pay basis

Thus petition circulators are paid not only according to the difficulty of getting signatures but according to the amount of available time. If the issue is controversial and names hard to get, and if the sponsor is running out of time, circulators may get as much as 40 cents per name. High rates also may be paid if several petitions are on the streets simultaneously, creating competition for paid circulators.

On the other hand, costs may be cut if a circulator can carry petitions for two initiatives at once, or if there is plenty of time or if the initiative is popular. For a popular measure, like the successful lottery initiative on the ballot last November, circulators got 20-cents per name. Kimball, who handled the lottery campaign, says more than 10,000 circulators gathered 1,025,000 signatures for the lottery in just 45 days. (Circulators always gather far more names than needed because a high proportion inevitably will not belong to registered voters or will be disqualified for some other reason.)

Recent professional petition industry activities

Initiative	Type	Signature-gatherer	Attorney
	June 1982		
Assembly reapportionment	Referendum	Bader + direct mail	
Senate reapportionment	Referendum	Bader + direct mail	
Congressional reapportionment	Referendum	Bader + direct mail	
Peripheral canal	Referendum	Kimball	
Jarvis III	Initiative	Kimball + direct mail	
	November 1982		
Bottle deposit	Initiative	Volunteers	Nielsen (pro) Fadem (con)
Nuclear freeze	Initiative	Volunteers	
Water conservation	Initiative	Volunteers	
Handgun control	Initiative	Kimball	
	December 1983		
Sebastiani reapportionment	Initiative	Bader + direct mail	
	June 1984		
Gann legislative reform	Initiative	Bader + direct mail	
	November 1984		
Balanced budget	Initiative	Bader	Nielsen (pro)
Jarvis Save 13	Initiative	Kimball + direct mail	Nielsen (con)
Lottery	Initiative	Kimball	Fadem (pro)
English only	Initiative	Bader + direct mail	Nielsen (pro)
Reapportionment	Initiative	Bader + direct mail	Nielsen (pro)
Campaign finance	Initiative	Kimball	Nielsen (con)
Welfare reform	Initiative	Kimball + direct mail	Nielsen (con)

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Between campaigns, Kimball and Bader are out looking for new business. Kimball says that it is not enough to wait for calls or referrals or to solicit business from initiative-proponent groups that already have been formed. For instance, groups that have been angered by some action, or inaction, in the Legislature may be approached and asked to consider the advantages of launching an initiative campaign.

Doesn't that constitute unnecessary political agitation? Kimball says no. "We usually approach groups that have been thinking of doing an initiative. The harm would be if we tried to create the issue," he says. Bader, who identifies himself with Republican and conservative causes, also denies agitation. "If an issue is going to happen, there's been a lot of support out there for it anyway," he says.

If a potential client is interested in an initiative campaign, Kimball says the next step may require a survey to assess the public mood. What does the public think of the idea? What types of persons are most supportive? How difficult will it be to get people to sign petitions? Based on the answers, the client will decide whether to go ahead.

According to Kimball, he prefers that clients abandon any effort that is more than likely to lose at the polls. He is afraid, he says, that if too many initiatives are placed on the ballot and then voted down, the initiative process will look so risky that future clients may be frightened off.

Political lawyers

If the client decides to proceed, the initiative must be drafted. And at that point, a new breed of specialist may step in. This is the so-called "political lawyer," the person or firm that will shape an initiative not only to meet the requirements of various laws affecting the initiative process but to deal with the political realities of the day.

Among the better known lawyers in this group are Barry Fadem and Vigo "Chip" Nielsen, both of San Francisco. (Nielsen also is a member of the *California Journal* board of directors.) Concerning initiative-process laws, Nielsen says he will review a proposed initiative to assure, for instance, that it stays within the rule that no measure cover more than one subject. On political realities, Fadem says the successful lottery initiative of last November, which he produced, bans casino gambling not because the lottery needs such a ban but because its supporters needed to undercut opposition arguments that the lottery would lead to more gambling, eventually bringing in casinos and corruption.

The political lawyers also may help draft ballot-pamphlet arguments and make sure that campaign spending is reported according to state laws on disclosure. Once the election campaign is under way, the lawyers additionally may keep an eye on the campaign staff to assure that a client's interests are not harmed. "The campaign-management people have a tendency to go for the jugular in a campaign," Nielsen says. Says Fadem, "I don't want to wake up some morning in the middle of a campaign and find my clients are featured in an *L.A. Times* article for having done something wrong."

Obviously, Kimball, Bader and other petition-circulators would like to see all the initiative business come their way. But that's not likely. For there are two other ways to collect signatures: through volunteers and through direct mail. Since both of these methods may (emphasize "may") be less costly than using paid circulators, they will not be going out of style. Often, initiative proponents use combinations of the methods.

Of the three, the volunteer method is the least expensive. Whereas Kimball or Bader might charge $300,000 to put a statute initiative on the ballot and perhaps $500,000 for a constitutional amendment, a dedicated corps of volunteers might do the job for half that price. Californians Against Waste, for instance, spent only $120,000 to qualify a container-deposit initiative, Proposition 11, for the ballot in November 1982.

However, Amy Hewes, treasurer for CAW, reports that even that group had to hire some paid signature-collectors toward the end of the campaign. Also, she says, CAW's top staffers were paid only $500 to $600 per month and were putting in 12-hour days, seven days a week. Organizing a

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statewide, volunteer initiative effort "means you put aside your whole life for a year," she says.

Direct mail

The direct-mail method of collecting signatures would be the most expensive of the three except for a practice that has been developing over recent years. It is to ask that cash contributions be returned along with the signed initiative petitions. (See "The Initiative Biz," *CJ*, December 1984.)

If the initiative involves a hot issue, and if the direct mail is targeted to the right groups, enough money may be returned not only to pay for the mailing but to turn a profit as well. Basically, this is how Howard Jarvis and his direct-mail backers — the Butcher-Forde firm of Newport Beach — have financed the tax-reform initiatives that Jarvis has been sponsoring since he and Paul Gann put Proposition 13 on the ballot in 1978.

In other words, the big advantage of direct mail is that it may allow an initiative proponent to launch a signature-gathering campaign with little or no money in hand. Whereas Bader or Kimball might want $50,000 or $100,000 as a down payment, with additional payments due as signatures begin flowing in, the direct-mail proponent needs only enough cash to send out his first, small mail request for signatures and contributions. Then, as money is returned, he can finance larger and larger mailings until he has qualified the measure and perhaps made a profit besides.

Indeed, the initiative proponent who uses direct mail may not even need money for that initial mailing. If he or she is well known, like Jarvis, and if his or her proposal is popular, like a tax cut, then a direct-mail firm, like Butcher-Forde, may put up the initial money itself. Believing that the contributions will come rolling in, the firm is content to wait for its repayment (and a nice profit) from the subsequent cash flow.

Aware of direct mail's ability to raise money as well as signatures, and aware that this could take business from him, Bader says he has experimented with fund raising also. About a year ago he had some of his petition circulators give remittance envelopes, containing fund-raising appeals, to persons who signed petitions. Bader says the response rate was about one percent, not nearly enough to cover the cost of the signature-gathering campaign. However, he estimates that the practice could generate enough contribution money to cut the cost of a campaign by one-third or even by half.

But the best argument for using paid circulators remains the certainty of result. They may cost more than a signature/fund-raising campaign through the mails, but if you put enough of them on the streets, your measure is sure to qualify. Direct mail is not nearly so certain.

Perhaps California voters should be pleased that Kimball, Bader and others like them are in the petition business, bringing issues to the ballot that otherwise might not be debated and voted on. However, it also seems clear that the high number of signatures required is preventing others from participating in the process. Citizens' groups, grass-roots organizations and others — for whom the initiative process was created in the first place — find it increasingly difficult to organize the required massive campaigns.

And despite the nature of their business both Kimball and Bader agree: The signature requirement should be cut. The more the merrier, they say.

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CSAC PRESIDENT STEVE SWENDIMAN

Friendly Redding barkeep heads supervisors' association

By BOB ALDRICH

The Post Office Saloon and Grill in Redding is a cozy sort of place with decent food, a good selection of beers and a friendly proprietor named Steve Swendiman. But there are lots of places with good food, beer and a friendly proprietor. What makes this one a little different is that Swendiman is a Shasta County supervisor and this year's president of the County Supervisors Association of California (CSAC).

As such, he presides over a staff of 24, an annual budget of $1.5 million and the job of providing representation and research for California's county governments. Much of CSAC's work lies in lobbying the Legislature on the counties' behalf. But CSAC also maintains a small office in Washington and provides a variety of other services. For instance, it promotes movie and television locations within the state and works with Hollywood producers to secure whatever county permits may be necessary.

Actually, Swendiman does not have day-to-day charge of the organization. That's handled by Larry Naake, CSAC's executive director. But Swendiman spends considerable time at CSAC headquarters in Sacramento and guides the organization's 15-member board of directors — the group that sets CSAC's overall policy.

A bright and articulate man, the 37-year-old Swendiman sees his job largely as one of getting enough money from state and federal governments for counties to do the welfare administration, law enforcement and other work that traditionally is theirs. "We put out a lot of propaganda; we have to be the squeaky wheel," he says. "Most of our legislators know that county government is nothing more than their implementing arm. They pass the laws and we implement them. It still doesn't hurt to be vocal."

For the rest, Swendiman sees himself mostly as a barkeep. "When it comes down to it," he jokes, "I'm nothing more than a pusher. It just happens to be a legal drug."

Bob Aldrich is a freelance writer from Sacramento.

Swendiman was born in Cleveland but his family moved to Sacramento during the Korean War after his father, a physician, enlisted in the Air Force. After his father's discharge, the family decided to stay in Northern

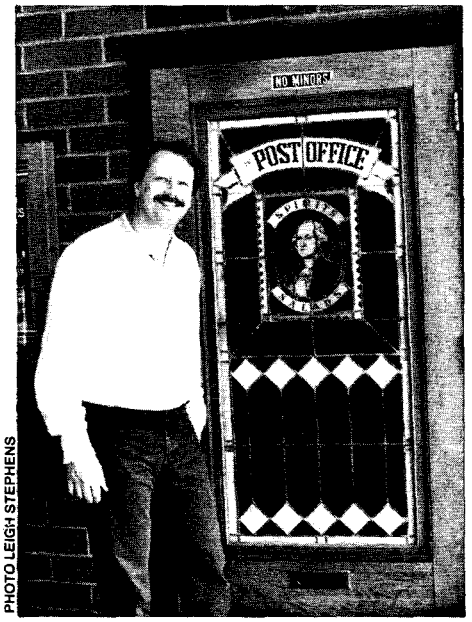

PHOTO LEIGH STEPHENS

California and eventually moved to Redding, where Swendiman grew up. In 1969 Swendiman graduated from UC Berkeley with a degree in history and English. Deciding on a teaching career, he got a job in Tracy at a continuation school but later returned to Redding as a high school teacher.

Swendiman has been in the bar business only about five years and made his entry almost by chance. He explained that he was in Argentina in 1980 visiting a friend who had been an exchange student in his home 17 years before, when the friend suggested that they go into business together. Upon his return home, Swendiman learned that the Post Office was for sale, and he bought it.

As to his political career, Swendiman was first elected to the Redding School District Board of Trustees in 1974. It was, he says, a very basic campaign. His total expenses were $28, mostly for a newspaper ad, and he made his own yard signs. Four years later, he says, some friends urged him to run for county supervisor. It was a tough campaign for that time, with expenses of $5000, but Swendiman won.

Swendiman got involved with CSAC back in 1980 and later became a member of its executive committee. Once there, it was only a matter of time until the president's title rotated to him. Inaugurated last November, he will serve one year. At the moment he's most proud of a new CSAC computer network that ties all the counties together, allowing Del Norte County, for instance, to get information directly from Los Angeles County.

His biggest concern so far has been Orange County's departure last year from the CSAC organization. CSAC's Naake has blamed the departure on a "lack of communications," but county spokesmen have indicated other problems as well, such as CSAC's refusal to take sides during an Orange County dispute with Los Angeles County involving transportation.

Swendiman notes that Orange County is still active in the Southern California Association of Supervisors, an affiliate of CSAC. And, he says, Orange County Supervisor Ralph Clark is active in SCAS and has made a commitment to bring his county back in. Meanwhile, Swendiman says, "We're willing to work out any problems they're having with our organization and try and iron them out."

Higher ambitions

Swendiman, a Democrat, would like to run for higher office but sees no opportunity now. Republican state Senator Jim Nielsen and Republican Assemblyman Stan Statham, who represent the area, both seem secure in their jobs. Swendiman also has looked at Congress. "It's the seat I have the most interest in because I believe the federal system needs a younger person in it who can spend 15 to 20 years getting to know the job," he says. But here, too, an incumbent, Republican Gene Chappie, seems secure.

As for the future of county government, Swendiman sees counties being asked to provide more and more services from an eroding revenue base. As a result, he predicts, county government will be given more discretion over revenue sources. "We'll be allowed to raise some form of tax on the local levels," he says.

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Merritt Peralta Medical Center

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The 1985A Fixed Rate Bonds will bear interest at the rates and mature on the dates set forth below. The 1985A Tender Bonds will bear interest at the rate of 5.25% per annum from their date to and including October 31, 1985.

The 1985A Tender Bonds and 1985A Fixed Rate Bonds will constitute limited obligations of the Authority secured under the provisions of the respective Indentures and Loan Agreements described in the Official Statement and will be payable from payments made by Merritt Peralta Medical Center under the respective Loan Agreements, from payments on Obligation No. 1 (in case of the 1985A Tender Bonds) and Obligation No. 3 (in the case of the 1985A Fixed Rate Bonds), from certain funds held under the Indentures and, in the case of the 1985A Tender Bonds, on or prior to the earlier of the Expiration Date of the Letter of Credit or the Fixed Rate Date for the 1985A Tender Bonds, from funds drawn under an irrevocable Letter of Credit issued by

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$5,345,000 1985A Fixed Rate Serial Bonds, Price 100%

Due	Amount	Rate	Due	Amount	Rate	Due	Amount	Rate
1986	$270,000	5.25%	1990	$340,000	7.00%	1995	$490,000	8.20%
1987	280,000	5.75	1991	365,000	7.25	1996	530,000	8.40
1988	300,000	6.25	1992	390,000	7.50	1997	575,000	8.60
1989	315,000	6.75	1993	420,000	7.75	1998	620,000	8.70
			1994	450,000	8.00			

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$21,880,000 9.00% 1985A Fixed Rate Term Bonds due May 1, 2015, Price 99.75%
$40,500,000 1985A Tender Bonds due May 1, 2015, Price 100%

(Plus accrued interest from June 1, 1985)

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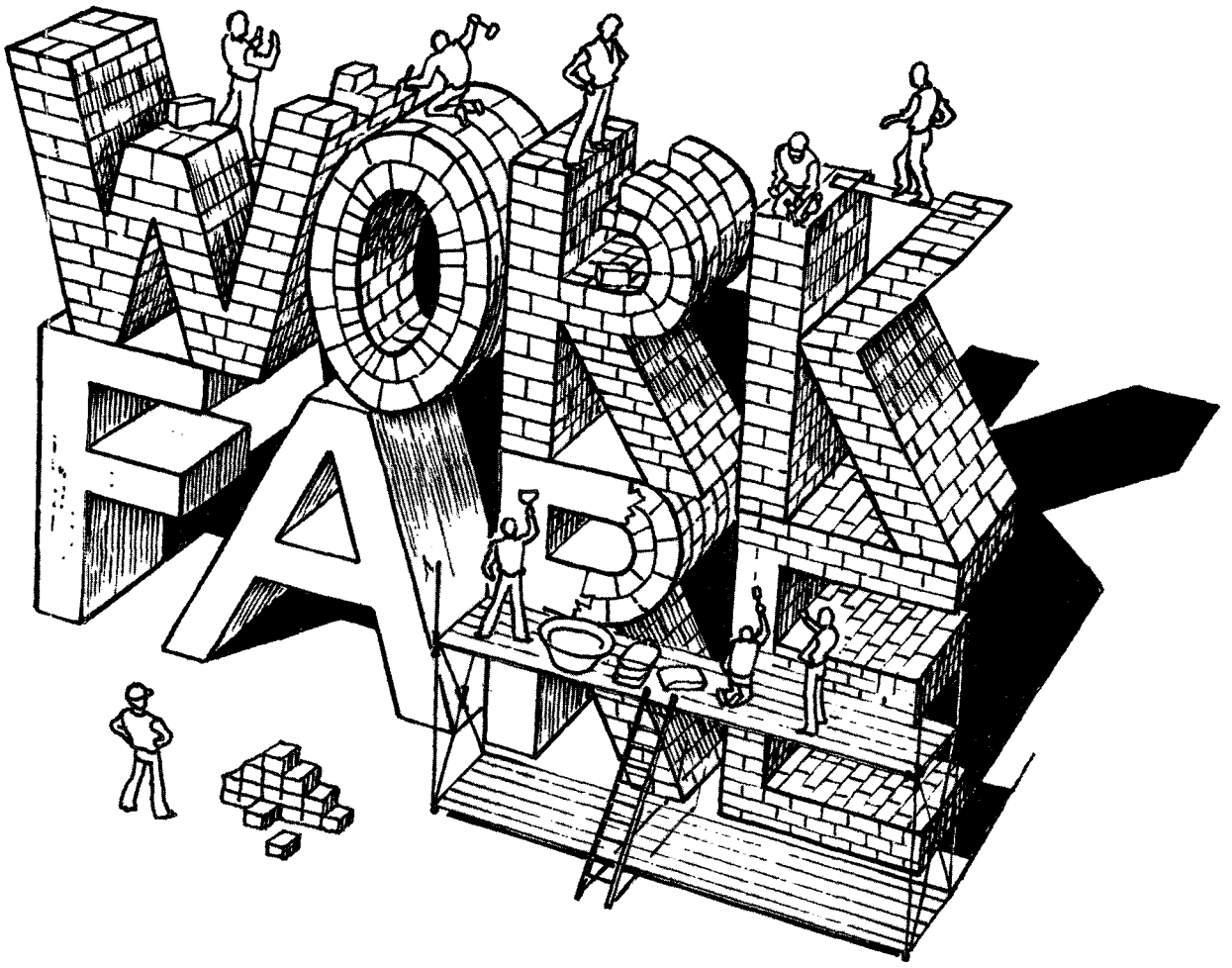

By MICHAEL WISEMAN

Californians are hearing a little more about work and welfare in 1985, and most of the talk involves "workfare" — the requirement that some adults receiving public assistance work for their benefits. Talk about workfare in Sacramento is hardly new, but this time people seem to be doing something about it. A recent count showed six work-and-welfare proposals under consideration, including the governor's State Training and Employment Program for Unemployed Persons (STEP-UP) proposal. In March of this year Health and Welfare Agency Secretary David Swoap (a long-time proponent of workfare) and Democratic Assemblyman Art Agnos (a long-time opponent) made a joint, cross-country, fact-finding tour of workfare sites in Massachusetts, West Virginia and Pennsylvania, apparently in an effort to find a bipartisan position on the issue.

To veterans of California politics, the prospect of another drawn-out debate over work-for-welfare recipients can only be appalling. Everyone's position seems well known. But this time around the workfare debate may see both some new themes and some significant changes in position. There are signs that welfare dependency among California families is increasing, with little reason to believe that benign neglect will make the problem go away. The results of a workfare test in San Diego suggest that such programs are administratively feasible and that workfare, in combination with job-search assistance, can help reduce dependency, and the evidence from San Diego places new strains on the traditional positions of both liberals and conservatives with regard to workfare.

Fifteen years ago, Californians showed the world what a genuine welfare "crisis" was about. Thanks to the combined effects of a recession, recruitment by practitioners of the War on Poverty, liberalization of eligibility and payment rules, and greater willingness of people to accept welfare, the number of families receiving assistance through the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program more than doubled between 1968 and 1971. Then the caseload explosion ended, largely because everyone eligible for welfare had taken it up. Governor Ronald Reagan's Welfare Reform Act of 1971 also helped bring things to a halt.

By the standards of 1968-71 we have no welfare crisis today. Since 1971 California's population has grown by 28 percent, but the number of people receiving AFDC has increased by only one percent. However, this long-run trend tends to mask recent experience. Since 1980 growth in the number of recipients (18 percent) has been twice as great as population growth (9 percent). Between 1970 and 1980 the proportion of families receiving assistance increased modestly, from 7.9 to about 8.4 percent. But again, since 1980, changes have been more rapid: The total number of dependent families has gone up by 17 percent. The proportion of the state's children living in families receiving welfare is now at an all-time high.

Some of the increase since 1980 is due to the influx of Southeast Asian refugees. Some is attributable to the recession. But it is difficult to claim that either immigration or the state of the economy is the dominant factor in the

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long-term expansion of the welfare rolls. The nature of welfare dependency itself seems to be changing. On average, families on welfare today have been receiving assistance for a longer time than was true for dependent families ten years ago, and families now on welfare are much less likely to report any earnings from work. Cases stay open a long time. The expected total duration of a welfare "spell" is over seven years for typical families in the caseload.

These trends are not dramatic, but they are persistent — and they are costly. Aid to families with children cost the state about $1.6 billion in fiscal 1983-84, and the legislative analyst predicts that costs for the current fiscal year will be $90 million more. Since state budgeting is a matter of increments and in the big league of the budget $90 million doesn't count for much, it is tempting to let growing state revenues cover the bill and to avoid the political hassle that always accompanies welfare debate. But even if it is benign, neglect seems a dangerous welfare policy, at least in the long run. There is little in the data churned out by the Department of Social Services to support a sanguine outlook on the future. Sooner or later, voters are bound to ask why all this expenditure seems to lead to nothing but caseload growth. It would seem wise to deal with these problems now, when facts can be assembled and alternatives can be seriously discussed, rather than under pressure of fiscal crisis.

Workforce

Training programs and other employment-related assistance have been available to welfare recipients since 1968 through the Work Incentive (WIN) program. By law, certain adult recipients — mothers without pre-school children in single-parent families and the unemployed adult (usually the father) in two-parent families — are required to register with the WIN program as a condition for receiving welfare. But in practice, the requirement has not been meaningful, for shortages of staff and funds have meant that two-thirds or more of those who register for WIN receive no services. In theory, able-bodied adults without transportation or child-care problems, who refuse to accept job referrals generated through WIN or to participate in training, can be "sanctioned" by reduction of welfare grants. In practice this has rarely occurred.

In 1981 Congress changed the AFDC program to provide states with an option to establish Community Work Experience Programs (CWEP) in which recipients could be required to participate in work projects in exchange for benefits. That's workfare. Several states moved quickly to initiate such programs. In California the San Diego County experiment was one of the results.

(There have been experiments with workfare in the past, most notably the one conducted by former Governor Reagan in 1972. Although originally planned to deliver 30,000 jobs per year, at its peak this program managed only slightly more than 1000 welfare job-placements, and many of those were in state agencies. The Employment Development Program in 1976 — by then under the administration of former Governor Jerry Brown — gleefully reported that the Reagan program "did not prove to be administratively feasible and practical.")

According to a preliminary report issued last February from the Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation of New York, the San Diego experiment showed that it is administratively feasible to run a workfare program; that such programs can improve recipient earnings; and that welfare costs decline as benefits are cut or terminated for recipients who will neither work nor undergo job training. All of these are important factors in the current workfare debate because the San Diego program is virtually identical to STEP-UP — the governor's workfare proposal (contained in SB863 by Republican Senate leader Jim Nielsen).

The San Diego program involved about 7000 welfare recipients who came on the rolls between October 1982 and August 1983. All were WIN-eligible; that is, they were mothers without pre-school children or were the unemployed parent (usually the father) in a two-parent family. Of the total about 1900 were randomly selected for a control group that was to receive only the normal WIN services.

The remaining 5100 went into the mandatory program and were told that their benefits would be reduced or terminated if they failed to meet requirements. The group was then divided into two parts. The first, about 1200, was required to participate in a three-week program that included "employment readiness" training (how to prepare

PENDING AFDC EMPLOYMENT TRAINING AND "WORKFARE" BILLS

(Updated June 6, 1985)

AB 1303 (Killea): Authorizes continuance of the San Diego welfare employment program for an additional two years (or only one year if federal funds are not available); provides that recipients are not required to participate until child care is arranged and that the county must meet certain requirements in the provision of child care.

SB 15 (Garamendi): Extends and expands the existing Employment Preparation Program (EPP) in six pilot counties; allows participation in EPP to be deferred if the recipient is enrolled and making progress in an educational program.

SB 203 (Watson): Requires the Department of Social Services to establish the Welfare Employment Services and Training (WEST) program in one demonstration county. AFDC applicants and recipients not exempt from WIN would be required to register for the program, after which participation would be optional. Once recipient opts for program, participation becomes mandatory.

SB 755 (Deddeh): Authorizes continuance of the San Diego welfare employment program for an additional two years; deletes San Diego County's responsibility for all non-federal costs and appropriates $175,000 in state funds and $350,000 in federal funds to support the program.

SB 863 (Nielsen): Eliminates the existing Employment Preparation Program (EPP) and establishes the Sequential Training and Employment Program for Unemployed Persons (STEP-UP) in three counties.

SB 1182 (Bergeson): Allows an AFDC recipient to continue to be exempt from participation in the Work Incentive Program for a period of up to five years after the youngest child has reached age six or until completion of the recipient's education program.

Source: Senate Office of Research

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ıor an interview, etc.) and a supervised search for a job.

The remaining 3100 formed what might be called the "workfare" group. They were also required to participate in the training and job-search program. But they were additionally told that if they failed to find a job before the program ended, they would be required to work for a government or non-profit agency. This period of public service could last up to 13 weeks.

Discoveries

Generally speaking, there were two important discoveries. The first was that the mandatory work requirement (as opposed to mandatory training and job search) had little effect on the recipients' desire or ability to find work. Those who went through training and job search alone did as well at finding employment as those who went through the training and search with the additional "workfare" requirement. In other words, the threat of having to work or the actual performance of public-service work made no difference in the recipient's ability or desire to find a job.

The second important discovery was that a significant number of recipients may have felt that their welfare benefits were not worth the hassle of meeting the mandatory requirements, whether for job search alone or job search-plus-workfare. In other words, a significant number of recipients, for whatever reasons, failed to conduct a job search or perform their work requirement. As a result, they suffered a partial or full loss of benefits. (The actual penalty depended on their family situations.)

Not surprisingly perhaps, most dropouts occurred at the workfare phase. Among the 5100 in the mandatory group, only 2.7 percent lost benefits for not complying with the job-search requirements. But 17 percent lost benefits for refusing one of the public-service work requirements.

Since the dropouts lost all or part of their welfare benefits, their departure reduced welfare costs. However, the savings were not sufficient to cover the additional expenses of the entire program. But the program was cost-effective nonetheless because of public-service work done by the approximately 450 "workfare" recipients who conducted a job search but failed to find jobs. When a conservative estimate is placed on the value of their labors, the entire program shows a small profit.

But those were the general results. Within the program there were wide differences in performance between two recipient groups. In the first group were those receiving AFDC benefits; that is, single parents (usually mothers) with dependent children. The second group included those receiving AFDC-U aid; that is, two-parent welfare families in which the principal earner (usually the father) is unemployed.

Essentially, it was found that the San Diego program helped (or caused) more mothers to find jobs than it did fathers. This does not necessarily mean that fathers are somehow more lazy than mothers. A more likely explanation is that the fathers, having been employed previously, were already experienced at job-hunting and learned little from the mandatory training and/or public-service work.

Concerning the AFDC — or single parent — employment experience, the outcome of the experiment was quite dramatic over the second, third and fourth quarters following their arrival on the welfare rolls. During that time, they showed higher employment rates than recipients in the control group. The differences varied according to which quarter is chosen for measurement, but in the third quarter, for instance, 37.6 percent of the single parents in the mandatory group were employed. This compared with 28.7 percent of the control group.

Interestingly, recipients in the mandatory group got the same kinds of jobs as those in the control group. If they made more money than the controls, it was not because they found better jobs but because they went to work more quickly. But these increased earnings did little to cut welfare costs. In an attempt to wean welfare recipients from the rolls, existing regulations allow recipients to keep, without penalty, whatever small earnings they may receive from relatively low-level jobs. In time, it is hoped, they will work themselves into better-paying jobs and off the welfare rolls. As a result, welfare grants to newly-working recipients tend to continue at much the same levels as before.

For the unemployed adult in a two-parent family (the fathers), program results were considerably less striking. Indeed, for these fathers neither the training program alone nor the training program-plus-workfare had a significant effect on employment rates or earnings. Basically, the fathers did no better than the controls. Nevertheless, as before, the program reduced welfare costs because of the dropouts whose benefits were terminated. (If a single mother dropped from the program, the monthly benefit was reduced by her share of the total, leaving money for her children. If an unemployed father dropped out, the entire grant was terminated.)

San Diego's lessons

The argument that welfare recipients want to work also may miss the point. It is hardly surprising that Massachusetts recipients flock to training programs and temporary jobs in government, just as it is understandable that California has no trouble finding a few thousand recipients to fill temporary state civil service positions. Rather, the issue is whether the fraction of recipients unwilling to work is large enough to contribute significantly to welfare costs. Here is where the San Diego results seem clear. Sanctions do make a difference, and cost reductions are achieved because some people feel that receipt of welfare benefits is not worth the investment of time and energy in job search or temporary employment.

The argument that Reagan's program of 1972, also known as the California Work Experience Program (CWEP), demonstrated the infeasibility of workfare programs also has been weakened by the San Diego results. Unlike San Diego, CWEP had no up-front job-search component. Despite its status as a "demonstration" project, CWEP included no control group for evaluation of results. And unlike CWEP, the San Diego program met enrollment targets and collected data appropriate for judging consequences. Virtually everyone eligible for the program was assigned to job search; the subgroup required to go on to employment actually did get assigned jobs; and a control group was established from the beginning. The San Diego experiment is therefore at least a management success, and that, according to the Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation, is "a major operational achievement." Despite widespread experimentation with welfare work-programs, this appears to be the first instance in which a truly mandatory program was fully implemented.

Finally, the job-search component of the San Diego experiment, like such efforts elsewhere, had a positive effect on recipient employment. Turning down STEP-UP will mean denying recipients a service that many of them seem to want. Surveys by the Manpower firm of New York indicate that four-fifths of participants in the San Diego project believed that it was fair to require that they look for work as a condition of welfare receipt, and a similar response is reported regarding the work requirement. By most reports, useful public service was accomplished. For the good liberal, this poses an issue of conscience: Who is protecting whom, and from what?

But there is room for misgivings about workfare on the

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conservative side as well. What might be characterized as a conservative position on welfare would go something like the following: Dependency is not good for people, for it leads to family breakdown and loss of self-esteem. Second, it is impossible to design a welfare system that both provides adequately for the needs of those without jobs and creates financial incentives for self-support among those capable of working. Faced with the trade-off, the current system has opted for generous guarantees, with a consequent loss of incentives for self-support. In the absence of financial incentives to work, direct requirements may be necessary. Third, it is important to reduce the size of government as a means of reducing governmental interference in people's lives.

The San Diego results are consistent with the conservative position, but a good conservative may be reluctant to extend the experiment statewide for several reasons. San Diego is in many ways a special case; few other California counties have the combination of political support and the job-creation experience (from an earlier food-stamp demonstration program) available there. Also an effective statewide program would have to serve many more recipients (the San Diego program exempted both members of the control group and recipients already on the rolls). Surely there are diminishing returns to job creation within any welfare-employment program. While the first thousand jobs may be easy to come by, experience in the late 1970s with job development for welfare recipients under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act suggests that the next thousand may be very much harder to find. As a result, costs could be high.

An important feature of the San Diego experiment was that program requirements were enforced and non-cooperation was quickly identified. As indicated above, most of the welfare savings generated by the program came not as a result of increased earnings but from this sanctioning process. Faced with the choice between no welfare or welfare with work or job search, a sufficient number of recipients opted out to make a difference. The unheralded implication of this appears to be that use of sanctions cannot be dismissed as unnecessary to an employment program intended to affect all employable welfare recipients equally.

What does all this mean for liberals and conservatives?

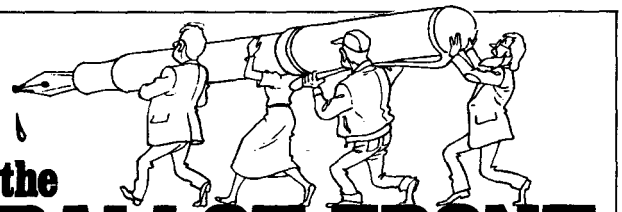
The liberal position on workfare historically has been to have none of it. The liberal "emergency workfare response kit" recommends something like the following: When confronted with a workfare proposal, first assert that recipients want to work and the real problem is the absence of decent jobs. (This claim is supported by reference to Massachusetts' non-mandatory program of job search and employment, for which many welfare recipients have volunteered.) Second, assert that without adequate child care no recipient should be forced to take a job because it is the children who will suffer if a parent is not at home. Third, point out that California has tried workfare before (the Reagan program of 1972) and that the policy was a failure. Finally, lay down a barrage of anecdotes, as the California Welfare Rights Organization has already attempted to do, in order to create the impression that workfare operations are capricious or unjust.

There are several practical problems with this. First, there is a lot at stake. California currently has by far the most generous large-state AFDC system in the country. Nationwide (except for Alaska and Hawaii), the median AFDC welfare benefit, plus food stamps, for a family of three at the beginning of last year was $487 a month. California paid $631 then and pays $659 now. If voters feel it reasonable for recipients at least to look for work — and every poll says that they do — then benefits may be vulnerable if there is no attempt to require it. Last year's Proposition 41, which would have put a cap on welfare and Medi-Cal spending failed. But that proposition was written in a way that managed to alienate everyone from hospitals to the California Chamber of Commerce. A proposition targeted solely on welfare benefits, say, by mandating that AFDC payments be set at the national median, could be successful.

At best, effective operation of STEP-UP will mean that those on the rolls will be more uniformly "deserving." But the price of assured rest on that point will be a larger state bureaucracy and no real reduction in welfare costs, at least in the short run. Over the longer run, STEP-UP may change the environment of welfare in California, and behaviors may change accordingly. It may be worth the risk; but it is important not to promise too much.

The bottom line is that STEP-UP, if delivered, would represent a substantial increase in the size of state welfare operations. The model calls for early job search assignment for all eligible new entries — unprecedented in the history of WIN. Even workfare enthusiasts should recognize that there is room here for a cagey opponent of workfare to set an effective trap. If the Legislature requires that every employable welfare recipient receive timely job search assistance or temporary employment, and if participating county departments cannot actually deliver, then the onus of failure could very well be laid on the bureaucracy and not on welfare recipients. Can workfare survive this?

It may still be prudent for those weary of the workfare debate to pack up and leave for a while, if they have not already done so. But those who stick around are not necessarily condemned to witness reruns of arguments past. The political chemistry could produce the first general review of the state's welfare policy since the tumultuous passage of Reagan's Welfare Reform Act of 1971.



the BALLOT FRONT

A roundup of statewide initiative proposals. All statutes require 393,835 valid signatures; constitutional amendments require 630,136. The date in parentheses is the deadline for sponsors to submit signatures to county clerks.

DENTURIST LICENSURE ACT — an initiative statute, sponsored by Darryl L. Allison of Alhambra, that would establish a Denturists Examining Board to regulate non-dentists who fit people with false teeth. The Board would have the power to issue and revoke licenses, prescribe continuing-education requirements and adopt rules of professional conduct. This is the first initiative to circulate in seven months, the longest period of inactivity in more than 20 years. (September 30th)

MOTOR VEHICLE INSURANCE — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Manuel D. Talley of Los Angeles, that would set up a state-run motor vehicle insurance program. Standards for insurability, rates, policies and procedures would be established by a publicly-elected Director of State Motor Vehicle Insurance. The system, once established, would be supported by premiums and not by tax dollars. (September 30th)

Source: Secretary of State March Fong Eu.

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(A review of top stories during the past 30 days)

SENATE DEAN ANNOUNCES RETIREMENT

(May 21st): Democrat Walter W. Stiern of Bakersfield, a seven-term veteran of the California Senate, announced that he would not seek an eighth term in 1986. The 71-year-old lawmaker's decision triggered a flurry of activity by would-be successors, including GOP Assemblymen Phil Wyman of Tehachapi and Don Rogers of Bakersfield. Stiern's district, the 16th, includes Kern and Kings counties, plus a portion of Los Angeles and San Bernardino counties.

GAS TAX SHELVED

(May 21st): A proposal to increase the state gasoline tax by five cents a gallon was abandoned after its sponsor — Democratic Senator John Foran of San Francisco — agreed to an alternative that would use $445 million from the general fund over two years to help local governments fix their deteriorating road systems. Foran dumped the tax feature because of a threatened veto by Governor George Deukmejian, who objects to any tax increases.

LOTTERY CONTRACT AWARDED

(May 22nd): The California Lottery Commission awarded a ticket-and-services contract worth as much as $40 million to Scientific Games, the Georgia-based company that wrote and bankrolled the 1984 lottery initiative. Although several companies submitted bids, Scientific Games' entry was the only valid proposal because the company alone complied with the stringent financial-disclosure requirements that it placed in the lottery law. (Final approval of the contract was given June 3rd after an independent laboratory verified that sample tickets met security and quality-control tests. The Commission also approved instant "scratch-off" games to inaugurate the lottery program.)

ALRB NOT BIASED

(May 29th): A report by the state auditor general said there is no statistical evidence that the Agricultural Labor Relations Board has been biased in favor of farm workers or growers during its 10-year history. Cesar Chavez, president of the United Farm Workers, charged nevertheless that the Deukmejian administration is not fairly enforcing the farm-labor law. During the administration of former Governor Jerry Brown, the ALRB drew fire from growers who charged that the panel was biased in favor of labor.

HART OUT OF GOVERNOR'S RACE

(May 31st): State Senator Gary Hart announced that he will seek reelection in 1986 rather than run for the Democratic nomination for governor. Hart, from Santa Barbara, had tried to capitalize on the lingering popularity of his namesake — the Colorado senator who won California's 1984 Democratic presidential primary. Hart said his five-month exploratory campaign showed that Governor Deukmejian would be hard to beat and that few Californians were interested in issues.

CAL-OSHA PROBED

(June 3rd): The *San Francisco Chronicle* revealed that the federal Department of Labor is investigating the California Occupational Safety and Health Administration over the agency's failure to adequately protect workers who complain about their employers' safety violations. According to the *Chronicle*, the investigation was prompted when workers fired for complaining to Cal-OSHA about unsafe conditions complained to the federal government as well. It could lead to a federal take-over of the $30 million program.

DIVESTMENT COULD COST UC MILLIONS

(June 3rd): A report to University of California regents warned that selling UC investments in companies doing business in South Africa could cost the university as much as $100 million in sale-related expenses. The report, prepared by the UC treasurer's office, also warned that regents could be held liable for losses to UC's $6.3 billion pension and endowment fund. Assembly Speaker Willie Brown, a UC regent and supporter of divestment, called the report "skewed." He said it failed to point out that growing political instability in South Africa could have a damaging effect on those investments. (In a related matter, an Assembly-Senate conference committee agree June 12th to insert an anti-apartheid provisions into the state budget. The provision, which Governor Deukmejian could veto, would impose limits on state investments with companies doing business in South Africa.)

MORIARTY PROBE REACHES CAPITOL

(June 3rd): A team of 10 investigators from the Orange County District Attorneys Office and from the FBI arrived in Sacramento to interview various lawmakers over their business and personal dealings with W. Patrick Moriarty, the Orange County fireworks manufacturer who pleaded guilty March 12th to federal corruption charges.

NESTANDE DECLARES FOR LT. GOVERNOR

(June 4th): Orange County Supervisor Bruce Nestande, 47, declared himself into the race for lieutenant governor in 1986. Nestande, a Republican and member of the California Transportation Commission, said he plans to raise $2 million for the race. Other Republicans who have expressed interest in seeking the GOP nomination are state Senator H. L. Richardson and former Lieutenant Governor Mike Curb. Democratic incumbent Leo McCarthy has already announced for reelection.

STEVENSON OUSTED IN LA

(June 4th): Incumbent Los Angeles City Councilwoman Peggy Stevenson lost her council seat to Michael Woo, a 33-year-old former aide to state Senate pro Tem David Roberti. Stevenson, 61, was after her fourth term. Woo becomes the only Asian council member. In other Los Angeles results, Rick Tuttle defeated Dan Shapiro for city controller and voters rejected a property tax increase to pay for expanding the police department.

COASTAL COMMISSION DIRECTOR RESIGNS

(June 11th): Michael Fischer, executive director of the state Coastal Commission since 1978, announced his resignation, effective July 5th. Fisher said personal reasons motivated his decision, although both he and the commission have been criticized as anti-development by conservative lawmakers and business interests. The commission has also suffered severe budget cuts in recent years from the Deukmejian administration (see "The California Coastal Commission," *CJ*, March 1985). Fischer said he will join a San Francisco planning firm.

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ROLL CALL

ASSEMBLY

MEDICAL RECORDS

AB 1964 (Klehs). Gives individual the right to obtain medical record information from an insurance organization instead of having to go through a physician. Proponents say that an individual's personal medical data should be accessible. Opponents contend such information should be interpreted by knowledgeable medical personnel. Passed June 3rd, 49-24.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Agnos, Alatorre, Areias, Bates, Bronzan, Willie Brown, Calderon, Campbell, Chacon, Clute, Condit, Connelly, Cortese, Costa, Davis, Duffy, Eaves, Elder, Farr, Floyd, Hannigan, Harris, Hauser, Hayden, Hughes, Isenberg, Johnston, Katz, Killea, Klehs, Margolin, McAlister, Molina, Moore, O'Connell, Papan, Peace, Robinson, Roos, Sher, Tanner, Tucker, Vasconcellos, Maxine Waters, Norman Waters.

REPUBLICANS FOR: Bradley, Grisham, Leonard, McClintock.

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: None.

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Allen Bader, Baker, Dennis Brown, Felando, Ferguson, Filante, Frazee, Herger, Hill, Johnson, Kelley, Konnyu, Lewis, Mojonnier, Mountjoy, Naylor, Nolan, Rogers, Seastrand, Sebastiani, Stirling, Wright, Wyman.

ABORTION

Motion by Assemblyman Alister McAlister to instruct the members of the state budget conference committee to support a ban on the use of state funds or grants by family-planning organizations or clinics which perform abortions. Motion to refer matter to committee passed June 3rd, 40-35, thereby avoiding floor vote.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Agnos, Alatorre, Areias, Bane, Bates, Bronzan, Willie Brown, Calderon, Campbell, Clute, Condit, Connelly, Costa, Davis, Duffy, Eaves, Farr, Floyd, Hannigan, Harris, Hauser, Hayden, Hughes, Isenberg, Johnston, Katz, Killea, Klehs, Margolin, Molina, Moore, O'Connell, Papan, Peace, Robinson, Roos, Sher, Vasconcellos, Maxine Waters, Norman Waters.

REPUBLICANS FOR: None.

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: Chacon, Elder, McAlister, Tucker.

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Allen, Bader, Baker, Bradley, Dennis Brown, Felando, Ferguson, Filante, Frazee, Frizzelle, Grisham, Herger, Hill, Johnson, Kelley, Konnyu, Lancaster, Leonard, Lewis, McClintock, Mojonnier, Mountjoy, Naylor, Nolan, Rogers, Seastrand, Sebastiani, Statham, Stirling, Wright, Wyman.

STATE LOTTERY

SB 35 (Dills). Requires State Lottery Commission to award at least 30 percent of its procurement contracts to minority and women-owned businesses, permits minors to sell lottery tickets under adult supervision, gives commission access to criminal records, and enacts other provisions. Sponsors say the bill attempts to resolve substantive policy questions about the lottery initiative. Opposition is based on several issues. Urgency clause refused adoption June 3rd, 44-32.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Agnos, Alatorre, Areias, Bates, Bronzan, Willie Brown, Calderon, Campbell, Chacon, Clute, Condit, Connelly, Cortese, Costa, Davis, Duffy, Eaves, Farr, Hannigan, Harris, Hauser, Hayden, Hughes, Isenberg, Johnston, Katz, Killea, Klehs, Margolin, Molina, Moore, O'Connell, Papan, Peace, Robinson, Roos, Sher, Tanner, Tucker, Vasconcellos, Vicencia, Maxine Waters, Norman Waters.

REPUBLICANS FOR: Leonard.

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: Bane, Floyd, McAlister.

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Allen, Bader, Baker, Bradley, Dennis Brown, Felando, Ferguson, Filante, Frazee, Frizzelle, Grisham, Herger, Hill, Johnson, Kelley, Konnyu, Lancaster, Lewis, McClintock, Mountjoy, Naylor, Nolan, Rogers, Seastrand, Sebastiani, Statham, Stirling, Wright, Wyman.

STATE BUDGET

SB 150 (Alquist). Appropriates $35.4 billion for the support of state government for the 1985-86 fiscal year. Includes 8.5 percent pay and benefit increase for state employees and restricts funding of Medi-Cal abortions. Passed May 28th, 54-19.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Agnos, Alatorre, Areias, Bane, Bates, Bronzan, Willie Brown, Campbell, Chacon, Clute, Condit, Cortese, Costa, Davis, Duffy, Eaves, Elder, Farr, Hannigan, Harris, Hauser, Hayden, Hughes, Isenberg, Johnston, Killea, Klehs, Margolin, McAlister, Molina, O'Connell, Papan, Peace, Roos, Sher, Tucker, Vasconcellos, Vicencia, Maxine Waters, Norman Waters.

REPUBLICANS FOR: Allen, Bradley, Felando, Frazee, Grisham, Herger, Hill, Johnson, Lancaster, Leonard, McClintock, Nolan, Statham, Stirling.

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: Connelly, Katz, Robinson.

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Bader, Baker, Dennis Brown, Ferguson, Filante, Frizzelle, Jones, Kelley, Konnyu, Lewis, Mountjoy, Rogers, Seastrand, Sebastiani, Wright, Wyman.

GRAND JURIES

AB 197 (Peace). Requires courts to consider ethnic, racial, sexual, and geographic balance when selecting members of grand juries. Proponents say there is a need to make grand juries more representative of communities. Opponents claim it would be impossible to achieve such balances and that bill would lengthen the selection process. Passed May 28th, 44-30.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Agnos, Alatorre, Areias, Bane, Bates, Bronzan, Willie Brown, Campbell, Chacon, Clute, Connelly, Cortese, Costa, Davis, Duffy, Eaves, Elder, Farr, Floyd, Hannigan, Harris, Hauser, Hayden, Hughes, Isenberg, Johnston, Katz, Killea, Klehs, Margolin, Molina, O'Connell, Papan, Peace, Robinson, Roos, Sher, Tucker, Vicencia, Maxine Waters.

REPUBLICANS FOR: Ferguson, Johnson, Sebastiani, Stirling.

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: Condit, McAlister, Norman Waters.

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Allen, Bader, Baker, Bradley, Dennis Brown, Felando, Filante, Frazee, Frizzelle, Grisham, Herger, Hill, Jones, Kelley, Konnyu, Lancaster, Leonard, Lewis, McClintock, Mountjoy, Naylor, Nolan, Rogers, Seastrand, Statham, Wright, Wyman.

POLITICAL REFORM

AB 869 (Lancaster). Changes deadline for the imposition of penalties by the Fair Political Practices Commission for late filers of economic interest reports and requires parties appealing FPPC actions to courts to notify the FPPC. The FPPC says bill is needed because of instances when appellate courts have taken up issues without the commission having the opportunity to involve itself in cases. Opponents do not agree that changes proposed by commission are needed. Passed May 20th, 57-19.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Agnos, Alatorre, Areias, Bane, Bronzan, Willie Brown, Calderon, Campbell, Chacon, Condit, Cortese, Costa, Duffy, Eaves, Elder, Farr, Floyd, Hannigan, Harris, Hauser, Hughes, Isenberg, Johnston, Killea, Klehs, McAlister, Molina, Moore, O'Connell, Peace, Robinson, Roos, Sher, Tanner, Tucker, Vicencia, Maxine Waters, Norman Waters.

REPUBLICANS FOR: Allen, Bader, Bradley, Dennis Brown, Felando, Frazee, Grisham, Herger, Hill, Jones, Kelley, Konnyu, Lancaster, Mojonnier, Naylor, Nolan, Statham, Stirling, Wright.

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: Bates, Clute, Connelly, Davis, Hayden, Katz, Margolin.

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Baker, Filante, Frizzelle, Johnson, Leonard, Lewis, McClintock, Mountjoy, Rogers, Seastrand, Sebastiani, Wyman.

CAL EXPO

SB 207 (Leroy Greene). Appropriates $2.2 million to help pay the California Exposition and Fair's accrued debt of $2.6 million. Supporters contend that without this appropriation, Cal Expo's operations will be curtailed. Critics state that Cal Expo is supposed to become financially independent from state. Passed May 23rd, 60-14.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Agnos, Alatorre, Areias, Bane, Bronzan, Willie Brown, Calderon, Chacon, Clute, Condit, Connelly, Cortese, Davis, Duffy, Eaves, Elder, Farr, Floyd, Hannigan, Harris, Hauser, Hayden, Hughes, Isenberg, Johnston, Killea, Klehs, Margolin, McAlister, Moore, O'Connell, Papan, Roos, Sher, Tucker, Vasconcellos, Vicencia, Maxine Waters, Norman Waters.

REPUBLICANS FOR: Allen, Baker, Bradley, Felando, Filante, Frazee, Frizzelle, Hill, Jones, Kelley, Konnyu, Leonard,

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Mojonnier, Naylor, Nolan, Rogers, Seastrand, Sebastiani, Statham, Stirling, Wyman.
DEMOCRATS AGAINST: Campbell, Katz, Peace, Tanner.
REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Bader, Dennis Brown, Ferguson, Grisham, Johnson, Lancaster, Lewis, McClintock, Mountjoy, Wright

SENATE

GOVERNOR'S APPOINTMENTS

SB 1074 (Lockyer). Would make governor's pleasure appointments, which are subject to Senate confirmation, renewable every four years. Proponents state that these appointments should be reviewed at the beginning of a governor's second term in office. Opponents argue that it is not necessary to provide such review for a governor's pleasure appointments. Passed June 3rd, 22-16.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Ayala, Boatwright, Carpenter, Deddeh, Dills, Garamendi, Bill Green, Hart, Keene, Lockyer, McCorquodale, Mello, Montoya, Petris, Presley, Robbins, Roberti, Rosenthal, Stiern, Torres, Vuich, Watson.
REPUBLICANS FOR: None.
DEMOCRATS AGAINST: Foran, Leroy Greene.
REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Bergeson, Beverly, Craven, Davis, Doolittle, Ellis, Maddy, Marks, Morgan, Nielsen, Richardson, Royce, Russell, Seymour.

STATE BUDGET

SB 150 (Alquist). Appropriates $35.4 billion for the support of state government for the 1985-86 fiscal year. Includes 8.5 percent pay and benefit increase for state employees and restricts funding of Medi-Cal abortions. Passed May 24th, 36-3.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Alquist, Ayala, Boatwright, Carpenter, Deddeh, Dills, Foran, Garamendi, Bill Green, Leroy Greene, Hart, Keene, Lockyer, McCorquodale, Mello, Montoya, Petris, Presley, Robbins, Roberti, Rosenthal, Stiern, Torres, Vuich, Watson.
REPUBLICANS FOR: Bergeson, Beverly, Campbell, Craven, Davis, Doolittle, Ellis, Maddy, Marks, Morgan, Nielsen.
DEMOCRATS AGAINST: None.
REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Royce, Russell, Seymour.

PAY EQUITY

SB 2 (Roberti). Creates a state Commission on Pay Equity to make salary recommendations based on the concept of comparable worth relative to state employee salaries. Proponents say there are tremendous disparities between male and female salaries for comparable jobs. Opponents argue that the concept of comparable worth is an invalid one, and that adjusting state salaries would be extremely costly. Passed May 16th, 22-13.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Ayala, Boatwright, Carpenter, Deddeh, Dills, Garamendi, Bill Greene, Leroy Greene, Hart, Keene, Lockyer, McCorquodale, Petris, Robbins, Roberti, Rosenthal, Stiern, Torres, Vuich, Watson.
REPUBLICANS FOR: Craven, Marks.
DEMOCRATS AGAINST: Presley.
REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Bergeson, Campbell, Davis, Doolittle, Ellis, Maddy, Morgan, Nielsen, Richardson, Royce, Russell, Seymour.

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Perspective from
WASHINGTON
By Leo Rennert

A taxing question

As governor, Ronald Reagan pushed through the biggest tax increase in California history. The impact on many constituents, however, was cushioned by their ability to take a federal deduction on state and local tax bills. The added tax bite did not set off a political backlash. Top-bracket Californians, including many Reagan supporters, could write off more than half the tab on their federal returns. But now, as president, Reagan has a different notion. He is leading an all-out assault on the very provision that helped ease the pain for millions of Californians who had to absorb higher state taxes during his tenure in Sacramento.

HIS SWEEPING TAX-REFORM PLAN would wipe out federal deductions for state and local taxes — whether they be income taxes, sales taxes or property taxes. Elimination of the deduction is the plan's single biggest loophole-closing measure. Without it, the administration argues, the entire package would go down the drain. To state and local officials, however, it's a virtual declaration of war, a direct attack on their ability to finance essential services — the Pearl Harbor of federalism.

Sensing the best defense is offense, Reagan fired the first shots. He charged local-state tax deductions are unfair to most Americans because only one out of every three taxpayers itemizes deductions and takes advantage of this write-off. Moreover, he added, the deduction forces people in low-tax states to subsidize those in high-tax states like New York and California, which profit most from the deduction. A federal cushion that helped Reagan impose higher state taxes in the 1960s has become an intolerable "crutch" that benefits only a "wealthy few" in the 1980s.

But there's more to the argument than mere principle, fairness and equity. Repeal of state-local tax deductibility would increase federal revenues by about $150 billion over the next five years. That takes care of more than half the cost of lowering individual rates, including dropping the top bracket from 50 to 35 percent. Whatever the merits, Reagan can't lower individual rates across the board without closing the biggest loophole of them all.

Protests from state governments, counties, cities and school districts were swift and furious. On principle, they argue that Reagan is reneging on a covenant dating back to the beginning of the federal income tax. The deal, they maintain, was that Washington could tap this source of income only as long as it didn't use its taxing power to encroach on state and local revenues. To governors and mayors, Reagan's plan is a "tax on a tax." The federal government would tax John Q. Taxpayer on money he's forced to pay to state and local agencies. In states like California, where Reagan inaugurated withholding of state taxes, it would be a tax on earnings that never even found their way into a taxpayer's pocket.

But just as Reagan isn't dealing entirely from principle, neither are state and local governments. It's the practical consequences that drive the opposition in high-tax states. If deductibility is lost, they fear, low-tax states in the Sun Belt will gain a big advantage in luring businesses and professional people away from high-tax areas in Rust Belt states of the Northeast and the Midwest. California, while more resilient, may find it more difficult to compete for new industries with Arizona, Texas and low-tax states in the South.

To many governors and mayors, the long-term implications are a pure nightmare. With loss of federal deductibility, they see themselves caught between a rising revolt against state taxes and a growing inability to fund basic services as Washington slashes domestic programs across the board. For them, it's a double whammy. First, the president's budget cuts wipe out revenue sharing and reduce grants for education, poverty, urban, housing and a host of other programs, leaving states and localities to take up the slack. Then, with his tax plan, Reagan cuts into the financing base that statehouses and city halls need to keep these services going. To state and local officials, that's federalism with a vengeance.

From the start, many Reagan critics argued that the real purpose of his tax plan is to trim government at all levels — federal, state and local. The president strengthened this impression with passionate rhetoric that depicted his plan not as reform but as a historic wedge to lighten tax loads. The solution for California and other "big spending" states, he asserted, is to tighten their belts and cut taxes. Never mind that Reagan more than doubled state spending when he was governor. Consistency in politics is a perishable commodity.

Predictably, California's initial response was a bit hesitant. Governor Deukmejian, a White House stalwart who may have a crack at the Number Two spot on the 1988 GOP ticket with George Bush, reacted cautiously. With California's many diverse economic interests, there also are bound to be numerous cross-conflicts about a tax package that affects every taxpayer and business. Reagan's plan has some pluses for oil and high-tech — both powerful political forces in the state.

BUT LOSS OF STATE-TAX DEDUCTIBILITY remains the main battlefront. In a rare display of bipartisanship, Democratic Senator Alan Cranston, a former state controller, and Republican Senator Pete Wilson, a former state assemblyman and mayor of San Diego, have taken up the cudgels for state and local governments. The 45-member House delegation, however, went off in different directions. Republican Bobbi Fiedler of Northridge and Democrat Tom Lantos of San Mateo urged an immediate counter-attack to preserve state-local tax deductions. But Californians on the tax-writing Ways and Means Committee — Democrats Robert Matsui of Sacramento and Pete Stark of Oakland and Republican William Thomas of Bakersfield — asked their colleagues to hold their fire and give them maneuvering room to make deals when the voting starts in the fall.

New York is fully mobilized against loss of the deduction. Texas is ready to use all its muscle to protect oil. California, with more votes than either, is in search of a strategy.

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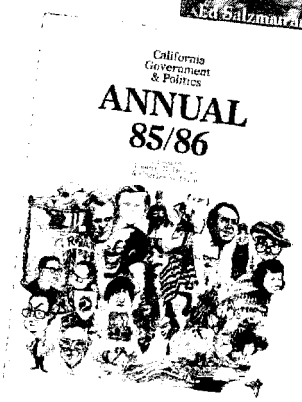

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- **Since 1978-79 state salaries trail the cost of living by 14.9%.**
- **Since 1978-79 state salaries trail private sector salaries by 9.8%.**
- **A failure to keep pace with cost of living increases has meant a sharp drop in purchasing power. Since 1978-79 the average state employee has been paid a total of $16,416 less than required to keep up with the cost of living. Expressed in today's dollars, that $16,416 is now worth $19,340.**
- **Following the passage of Proposition 13, state workers had a year of no pay increases (1978-79), despite increases granted to local government employees from state bail-out monies.**
- **During the 1982-83 fiscal year, when California was running a $1.5 billion deficit, state workers' pay was frozen, allowing the governor to save $340 million and eliminate the deficit.**
- **Since 1978-79 state workers have forfeited more than $3.7 billion in wage increases. These dollars would have allowed workers to keep pace with inflation.**

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Leo E. Mayer
CSEA President

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